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CANADIAN MUNICIPAL ARMS

FOREWORD

IT is peculiarly interesting to find an American scholar concerning himself with the somewhat unusual subject of Canadian Municipal Arms. So far as we know, Mr. Chapin has brought together the most comprehensive descriptive list of these insignia which has thus far been compiled. It will be a surprise to many that so large a number of municipalities throughout the dominion have adopted coats of arms, and that a considerable proportion of them conform more or less to correct heraldic usage.

The author, in the July, 1932, issue of *Americana*, gave a list of some seventy-two coats of arms and sixteen "municipal devices" adopted by cities and towns in the United States. Among these Boston, of all places, does not appear, since, as the author informs us, this old city has never used a coat of arms. His Canadian list amounts to one hundred and fifteen. Although he states that his American list does not claim to be complete (and probably additions might also be made to the Canadian list), it is possible that the ratios would not change materially if the survey in both countries was widened. Perhaps we may detect in this comparatively larger Canadian number the influence of continuous and more intimate British connections. Canada's post-Revolutionary immigrants, coming mainly from the old land, where coats of arms, family and communal, were noticeable features, doubtless brought with them the habit of thus marking the individuality of places as well as of persons.

The study of such minor and apparently insignificant by-products of history as these emblems may cast some light upon earlier phases of the social and industrial life of Canadian communities. These coats of arms frequently condense and preserve much local history.

In reading the descriptions one is struck by the recurrence of certain features which seem to indicate something of the Canadian

psychology. One can see, for instance, the touching faith of these communities in the prospective benefits of transportation and industry which led them to grant bonuses to factories and railways at the same time that they charged their armorial shields with locomotives and steamships and workshops, and supported them by miners and lumbermen and mechanics. Equally revealing are their mottoes, in which "Industry", or "Industria", "Commerce", and similar words crop up again and again. They seem to show a busy, hard-working, forward-looking people—the bee and the bee-hive appear frequently—and, as the author says, such things have a subtle influence in developing civic consciousness. Older Upper Canada expresses itself characteristically in these insignia. We see the frequent combination of agriculture and industry, typified by the wheat sheaf, the scythe, the mill-wheel, the saw, the axe, *etc.*, with an occasional hint as to intellectual aspirations supplied by the book or the lamp of learning. The shifting of industries is indicated in the case of Oshawa: the original arms bore a lake steamer; the present one includes an automobile and a piano. Doubtless the local factory had a hand in designing the bearings of such places as Galt, Smith's Falls, Granby, Fort William, *etc.* Western Canada, as is natural, runs to elevators, wheat sheaves, railways, with an occasional bison or cattle herd. The Maritime Provinces, of course, display fish, lumber, mineral products, and sailing vessels. Distinctively Canadian emblems, such as the maple leaf and the beaver, occur, though not so frequently as one might expect; nor does there seem to be much use of other native floral motifs such as the mayflower or arbutus, the hepatica or the trillium. The existence of Canada's earliest inhabitants is ignored by the scarcity of heraldic canoes or tepees, though now and then an Indian warrior is allowed to pose as a contrasting supporter to a pioneer or to Britannia, as in the arms of Toronto.

There are many clues as to the origins of these local emblems which might be followed up. In spite of the fact that a great proportion of the arms are obviously closely associated with the Canadian scene, there are doubtless some—perhaps more than might appear at first sight—which might be found to have direct association with places, families, institutions, or corporations in the British Isles, France, or even other parts of Europe. Many names of municipalities both in the United States and Canada were directly transplanted by immigrants from the old world, and it seems natural that the same process of transplanting, which has played so large

a part in the history of this continent, should be illustrated in the coats of arms.

There are doubtless other clues as to the origin of these local emblems which would repay investigation. There must have been much piquant gossip, much human nature involved in the selection and adoption of this official blazonry. With my incurable interest in the trivialities of history, I should be delighted if the publication of this article were to result in a flood of communications from town-clerks, and oldest inhabitants, retired mayors, reeves, and councillors, telling us how the late alderman so-and-so wished a shuttle or a cog-wheel on the coat of arms, because he ran a local mill or factory. The arms of Sorel, for example, excite our curiosity: they bear a printing press and type case; I cannot recall that this town was remarkable in the annals of Canadian typography. Is it possible that the editor of the local paper was in public office at the time when the arms were designed? Questions of this kind inevitably are suggested by a survey of this interesting list. These local arms are, so to speak, social and psychological hieroglyphs, the interpretation of which may help us to a subtler appreciation of the historical atmosphere of their period.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

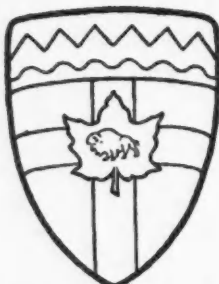
Heraldry is neither dead nor undemocratic. That it has vitality is proved by the constantly increasing use of heraldic devices by the various departmental units of the British and United States governments, by academic institutions, and by municipalities. That it is democratic is shown by the fact that the most extensive use of, and interest in, heraldry has been, and is, in democratic Switzerland.

Books have been printed on the coats of arms of the cities of all the countries of Western Europe and of Russia, Yugoslavia, Brazil, Cuba, and the United States. Canada has a larger proportion of municipal coats of arms than any other country in the new world with the possible exception of Brazil. It is not claimed that the list given below is complete, but it includes the arms of the principal cities and of such others as have come to the notice of the compiler, who will be pleased to receive any additional information relating to the subject.

While the heraldic language is not immediately understood by the average reader, it is more explicit in much fewer words than ordinary English and is understood and constantly used by artists,



BARRIE ONT.



CALGARY ALTA.



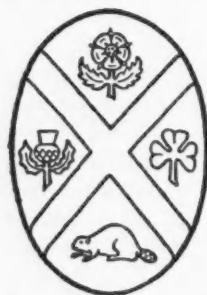
EDMONTON ALTA



FREDERICTON N.B.



LEVIS P.Q.



MONTREAL P.Q.



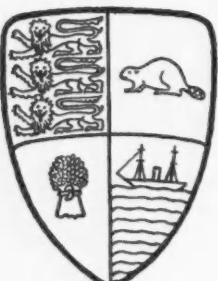
QUEBEC P.Q.



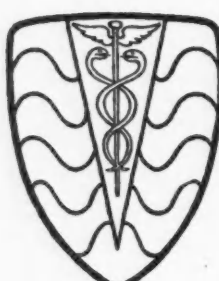
RADISSON SASK.



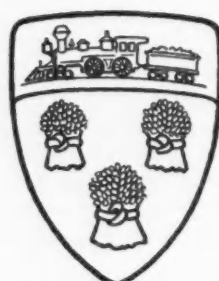
REGINA SASK.



TORONTO ONT.



VANCOUVER B.C.



WINNIPEG MAN.

architects, and designers who find that municipal coats of arms can be used effectively on public and on semi-public buildings, on flags, banners, and seals, and can be incorporated into all sorts of decorative work.

A distinct coat of arms has a remarkable sentimental value that has long been appreciated by colleges which have been very quick to adopt heraldic devices as one of those subtle influences which develop college spirit. In a like manner, civic spirit and the consciousness of community entity and community interest are unconsciously developed by the use of heraldic emblems.

Of course, twentieth-century heraldry differs from the heraldry of the fourteenth century both in design and use. Canadian heraldry has naturally developed in some cases along lines that differ from European heraldry. Perhaps the more obvious of these developments are the use of inanimate and botanical objects as supporters and the occasional use of lettering on the shield (inscriptions which, both from the artistic and practical point of view, would be better on a ribbon or scroll outside the shield).

Uncertainty in regard to colours, and in some cases the failure to use colours at all, is a development in modern municipal heraldry, not only in Canada, but in the United States and in South America. This neglect of colours is due to two causes: first, the arms are used principally upon seals, letter paper, and public buildings where colour is not generally found; and, secondly, the designs themselves are more complicated than formerly and are therefore less likely to be confused. In the fourteenth century the arms of several European rulers were a rampant lion, and the identity of the arms could be determined only by the colour of the lion and of the field. In the case of many municipal arms, the combination of devices is unique, and even without colours there is no chance for confusion with any other coat of arms.

The placing of a conglomeration of objects, or of a landscape, within the outline of a shield is a development found not only in the new world but in some of the more decadent heraldry of the Bourbon period in Spain and the Victorian period in England. While such "picturesque bits" appear on Canadian shields, they are not particularly common, and often can be improved by treating the salient features in a strong gothic or even modernistic manner, and omitting those unessential items which serve merely to confuse the design.

It is often difficult to draw a definite line between coats of arms

and pseudo-heraldic designs, which, either through ignorance or accident, simulate coats of arms; and students with different points of view will, of necessity, draw different lines of demarcation between these groups. Whenever there has been a doubt as to the purpose of the designer in such respect, the device has been included in the following list for the convenience of students who may be interested in the subject.

The arms of the provinces of Canada are discussed at length by George S. Hodgins in the *Papers and records of the Ontario Historical Society* (1916, XIV, 134), and are illustrated in colour in *Flags, badges and arms of his majesty's dominions beyond the seas*, part II, *Arms* (London, 1932).

Although all of the arms of the provinces were granted by royal warrant, this is not true of the municipalities. In a letter dated London, June 29, 1937, Mr. A. T. Butler, Windsor Herald, College of Arms, informs me that "No Canadian city or town has yet obtained a grant of arms". The municipalities themselves have adopted their coats of arms. This is the procedure that has been followed in the United States and to some extent in South America and Europe.

Of course, the maple leaf and the beaver are particularly popular charges in the arms of Canadian cities, and the buffalo, locomotive, and sheaf of wheat, heraldically called a garb, appear frequently.

One of the puzzles is why the arms of the city of New York appear in the centre of the shield of Owen Sound.

HOWARD M. CHAPIN

The drawings have been made by Mr. Richard Le Baron Bowen, a member of the committee on heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

A NOTE ON HERALDIC TERMINOLOGY

Two "metals" and five "colours" are used in heraldry: gold, called *or*; silver, *argent*; blue, *azure*; red, *gules*; black, *sable*; green, *vert*; and purple, *purpure*. The word *proper* means that the object is represented in its natural form and colour. It is correct heraldic practice to place metal on colour, or *vice versa*.

In heraldic descriptions it is customary to state first the divisions of the shield, if it contains more than a single space. The colour of each space is given first, then the description of the device placed upon it, followed by a statement of the colour of the device. Thus, "*Gules a lion rampant or*" means "On a red ground a golden lion rampant".

The various divisions of the shield are indicated by such terms as: *Quarterly*, when divided into four parts by lines bisecting the shield horizontally and perpendicularly. The upper portion is called the *chief*, the lower portion the *base*. The right side is called the *sinister*, the left side the *dexter*, viewed from the front of the shield.

Some other terms are: *Bend*: a diagonal band across the shield from dexter chief to sinister base. *Champagne*: a stripe at bottom of shield. *Chevron*: a band gable shaped, placed peak uppermost and centred on the shield. *Crest*: a device placed above

the shield. *Fess*: a horizontal band across the shield, its width generally one-third of the depth of the shield. *Garb*: a bundle or sheaf, as of wheat. *Lion passant guardant*: with right forepaw elevated, the other three paws walking, tail elevated over back horizontally, face looking out from shield. *Lymphad*: a galley, with mast and oars. *Pale*: a broad perpendicular stripe equidistant from the two edges. *Supporters*: figures on either side, outside the shield. *Tierce*: divided into three parts of three different tinctures.

AN ARMORY OF CANADIAN CITIES

AMHERST, N.S.

Argent in chief a plow and in base an anvil with a hammer leaning against its dexter side and at sinister a gear-wheel all azure. *Motto*: "Hand in hand". *Supporters*: A farmer with a sickle and a woodman with a hatchet, and clasping each other's right hand above the shield.

On the shield the word "Agriculture" appears above the plow and "and Manufactures" below the plow, but it would be much better to omit these words from the shield and place them on a ribbon as part of the motto.

ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, N.S.

Quarterly (1) gules three lions passant guardant in pale or (*England*); (2) or a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counter flory gules (*Scotland*); (3) azure a harp or, stringed argent (*Ireland*); (4) gules three fleurs-de-lis or. *Crest*: A stalk bearing a rose and thistle alternating with leaves all proper.

The change in the tincture of the field of the fourth quarter, representing France, from azure to gules, is to signify the conquest of Annapolis Royal by the English.

BARRIE, ONT.

Azure an eagle displayed argent debriused by a fess sable. *Crest*: A demi-lion rampant.

BATTLEFORD, SASK.

On a fess three garbs, between a chief per pale dexter a bison courant, and sinister a horse courant, and in base a plow. *Motto*: "Omnis opulencia oritur ex humo".

BELLEVILLE, ONT.

Quarterly (1) gules three lions passant guardant in pale or (*England*); (2) purpure a lion rampant gules; (3) or a garb; (4) gules a maple tree. *Crest*: Above the crown of England, a beaver. *Motto*: "Magnum est vectigal parsimonia". *Supporters*: Dexter an Indian habited proper with tomahawk in right hand and his left hand resting on a bow, and sinister Britannia with trident and shield.

Sometimes the field of the third quarter is shown argent. The lines in the second quarter may be shading, not tincture lines, and the field may have been intended to be or.

BOWMANVILLE, ONT.

Or a chevron gules between three bows palewise 2, 1. *Crest* (used on seal but not on stationery): A lighted torch.

BRAMPTON, ONT.

Quarterly (1) a beaver, (2) a garb, (3) a plow, (4) an old-fashioned locomotive. *Crest*: A royal crown.

The fields of 2 and 3 are or and of 1 and 4 probably argent, on the seal. On the stationery only the field of the second quarter is or.

BRANDON, MAN.

On a champagne a horse courant surmounted by a tree sprouting from a stump. *Motto*: "Vires acquirit eundo".

The motto, which appears in chief, might better be on a ribbon below the shield.

BRANTFORD, ONT.

Vert a beaver (or). *Crest*: A maple leaf. *Motto*: "Industria et perseverantia". *Supporters*: An Indian with bow and a woodman with axe.

BROCKVILLE, ONT.

Quarterly (1) a side-wheel steamer; (2) a locomotive and train of freight cars; (3) two beehives beset with bees volant and at sinister a tree; and (4) a beaver on a champagne with in chief a row of pine trees, and in dexter base a river bendwise. *Motto*: "Industria, intelligentia et prosperitas".

CALGARY, ALTA.

Argent a cross gules surmounted by a maple leaf vert charged with a bull bison proper; a chief per fess indented azure and the base of the chief per fess undy argent and vert. *Crest*: Out of a mural crown, a demi-sun in splendour issuant. *Motto*: "Onward". *Supporters*: Dexter a horse, and sinister a steer.

The device of the chief which "shows the Rockies—our pride and glory" is drawn in various ways. Sometimes the demi-sun issuant also appears in the chief. The device of the chief is doubtless derived from the device on the arms of Alberta which in the royal warrant of 1907 is described as "Azure in front of a range of snow mountains proper, a range of hills vert".

CAP DE LA MADELEINE, QUE.

Argent a spruce tree eradicated vert between an axe and a mallet gules, a champagne sable and on a chief azure a beaver proper. *Crest*: The letter M within an orle of twelve mullets or. *Motto*: "Arte et labore". *Supporters*: Two maple branches. Sometimes the roots of the tree extend over the champagne.

CHARLOTTETOWN, P.E.I.

A three-masted ship at anchor, with sails furled and with the English ensign flying at the peak, in base on a beach a plow surmounted by a scythe and at dexter a garb, with a hill rising from the beach and issuant at dexter and ending with a terrace at its top.

As the device is encircled by a garter, it might be considered to be armorial, and it is so listed by Ströhl in *Zum Kleeblatt* (1908), 56.

CHATHAM, ONT.

Bendy (of seven) argent and gules on a chief between a steamboat and a locomotive, a pile inverted charged with a garb between a cow and a sheep. *Crest*: A beaver on a log with above the beaver a ribbon with the word "Progress" and above the ribbon an eye radiant downwards. *Motto*: "Gregarum agri et commercium". *Supporters*: The lion and the unicorn.

CHICOUTIMI, QUE.

Gules a ship under sail argent at sea, on a chief azure sustained or, an antique crown between two fleurs-de-lis all or. *Motto*: "Fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem".

On the arms used on the city stationery, the stripe of gold between the chief and the field was accidentally omitted.

COBOURG, ONT.

Quarterly (1) azure a garb, (2) or three fish fesswise in pale, (3) quartered, England, Scotland, Ireland, England, (4) a one-masted, one-funnel, paddle-wheel steamer, and over all a bar argent charged with three shuttles. *Crest*: A stag. *Motto*: "Let Cobourg flourish. Our strength is in our unanimity".

CORNWALL, ONT.

Argent a garb azure. *Crest*: A crown. *Motto*: "Pro patria".

DARTMOUTH, N.S.

Quarterly (1) an Indian kneeling with bow and arrow set for shooting; (2) a barkentine at sea with one jib, square foresail, mainsail and spanker set; (3) a blacksmith with a hammer in his hand raised above an anvil, in a room with two windows; (4) two houses at a street corner.

The shield is oval. On the official stationery the Indian is standing with knees bent, the vessel is a three-masted schooner with all sails set, and the smith is not in a room.

DRUMMONDVILLE, QUE.

Quarterly 1 and 4 argent on a fess azure three cinquefoils of the field pierced; 2 and 3 ermine two bars gules. *Crest*: A dexter hand couped at the wrist holding a laurel wreath proper. *Motto*: "Fortem posce animum".

Below the shield is a beaver on a log between a rose, thistle, and shamrock on one stalk, and a sprig of three maple leaves.

DUNDAS, ONT.

A bark at sea under sail, in base on a point undy a beehive. *Crest*: A crown between the letters G. R.

EASTVIEW, ONT.

Per fess the chief argent a two-peaked mount vert with between its peaks a demi-sun in splendour issuant or, the base per pale dexter azure a house argent, sinister gules a hammer and cold chisel crossed in saltire argent. *Crest*: Arising from a branch a sprig of three maple leaves. *Motto*: "Labore et honore".

EAST WINDSOR, ONT.

Argent a maple leaf vert, on a chief (azure) sustained gules an automobile wheel winged within a border of the first. *Crest*: A beaver.

EDMONTON, ALTA.

Argent a garb azure. *Motto*: "Industry, energy, enterprise".

FARNHAM, QUE.

Per fess the chief per pale dexter gules a locomotive and tender, sinister or on a fess gules between two fleurs-de-lis in chief azure and a sprig of three leaves of maple slipped in base vert, a lion passant guardant or (for Quebec); the base a view of a farm with two farmhouses, and at sinister a barn and two evergreen trees, with in base a row of eight garbs. *Motto*: "Bonorum laborum gloriosus est fructus".

FERNIE, B.C.

Argent the date 1904 sable. *Crest*: An elk's head proper. *Supporters*: A woodman standing on a floating log of wood and a miner with a pickaxe.

FORT WILLIAM, ONT.

A grain elevator, a chief per pale dexter a steamship and sinister a locomotive. *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "A posse ad esse". *Supporters*: A hunter with a canoe paddle and an Indian.

FREDERICTON, N. B.

Argent a pine tree vert. *Crest*: A Latin cross with an aura radiant. *Motto*: "Fredericopolis silvae filia nobilis".

These arms are usually used between two other shields, viz. at dexter a shield bearing the union of the three crosses and at sinister the royal shield of England. Both of these shields are crowned with the royal crown. In *Notes and queries* for August 7, 1880, the arms are given by John Woodward as argent on a mount a pine tree vert, a chief per pale dexter the union flag, sinister the royal standard.

GALT, ONT.

Quarterly (1) azure a stag vert lodged on a torse (for Dickson); (2) gules a fleece or, in chief a shuttle argent; (3) gules an under-shot mill-wheel sable, the water Barry undy argent and azure; (4) azure a saw and hammer in saltire, the hammer bendwise head upwards, the saw bend-sinister-wise, handle downwards sable, the blade argent. *Motto*: "Res secundae ab industria".

The fleece is described as "a golden fleece" but the tincture lines designate the colour as green.

GANANOQUE, ONT.

Per fess, the chief per pale dexter a beehive beset with bees volant, sinister the union device (usually without the cross of St. Patrick), in base on an arched bridge over a river a locomotive and passenger car.

GLACE BAY, N.S.

Per bend sinister in chief a sprig of thistle and in base a shovel and pickaxe in saltire handles upwards, charged at the intersection with a lozenge (representing a piece of coal). *Crest*: A railroad train. *Supporters*: Two miners, one with hammer and the other with pickaxe and lantern.

GODERICH, ONT.

Quarterly (1) a steamship with two masts and two funnels; (2) a garb; (3) a plow; (4) a brig under sail, all within a border vert. *Crest*: A tree. *Motto*: "Forward".

GRANBY, QUE.

Azure a factory building with four chimneys and at sinister a blast furnace. *Crest*: An ant volant. *Motto*: "Forward". *Supporters*: A mechanic with a wrench and a factory worker with a rod and cog wheel.

GRAND-MÈRE, QUE.

A cross bottonny throughout cantoned by (1) gules a beaver proper holding in his mouth a maple leaf vert; (2) argent a basilica with two towers sable; (3) argent on a hill-side in bend four pine trees vert; (4) azure a sprig of two maple leaves one argent and the other sable; all within a border engrailed (or). *Motto*: "Spes in labore".

GRAVENHURST, ONT.

Argent Hygeia seated on a sofa with out-stretched arms holding a goblet in her right hand, and at dexter a woman supporting a sick child who is reaching for the goblet, and at sinister a man leaning on the sofa and holding a goblet in his right hand, chief per pale dexter a man building a boat on stocks and in base a boat, sinister per fess in chief a saw mill and in base a river on which is floating a log bend-sinister-wise and at sinister a floating capstan. *Motto*: "Health and industry".

GUELPH, ONT.

Argent on a fess gules cotised vert a horse courant of the field. *Crest*: A crown ensigned by a British lion. *Motto*: "Fides fidelitas progressio". *Supporters*: A wood-chopper with axe over his shoulder and Britannia with cornucopia and shield with union device.

HAILEYBURY, ONT.

Argent between three winged hearts, an open book charged with the motto "Sursum corda", all within a border azure.

Based on the arms of Haileybury College, England.

HALIFAX, N.S.

Azure perched on a rock sable a kingfisher argent. *Crest*: Out of a mural crown, mayflowers in bloom. *Motto*: "E mari merces". *Supporters*: Dexter a British naval sailor, sinister a deep-sea fisherman with a cod-fish hanging from his right hand.

Sometimes the kingfisher and the rock are or and sometimes the rock is shown issuant from the sea proper.

John Woodward in *Notes and queries*, Aug. 7, 1880, gives the arms of Halifax as "Or, on a mount in base a blue jay ppr."

HAMILTON, ONT.

Vert a beehive beset with a demi-orle of eleven bees volant (or), on a chief undy argent at dexter a single-masted lake steamer with funnel at stern and at sinister a beaver. *Crest*: A demi-sun in splendour issuant from clouds with above the sun the motto "I advance". *Motto*: "Commerce, prudence, industry". *Supporters*: Dexter a stag, sinister a lion.

HAWKESBURY, ONT.

Per fess in chief at dexter a paddle-wheel steamer with one mast and two funnels at sea, at sinister a garb surmounted by a rake and a scythe in saltire handles at dexter, in base a mill wheel. *Crest*: A beaver with a maple leaf in his mouth.

HULL, QUE.

Gules a view of the waterfront of the town with a two-masted shallop under sail,

on a chief azure semy of fleurs-de-lis argent a (natural) rose gules between a spray of three shamrocks vert and a thistle proper with leaves vert, the shamrocks and thistle issuing from the base line of the chief. *Crest*: A heart crowned. *Motto*: "Soyons coeur franc".

The shield is placed on a green maple leaf with a beaver below the shield.

KENORA, ONT.

Quarterly (1) a flour sack; (2) a pickaxe and shovel in saltire handles downwards; (3) a British soldier in uniform of about 1870, climbing a mountain side with a staff in his hand; (4) a waterfall. *Crest*: A beaver.

KINGSTON, ONT.

Argent a chevron gules between in chief two crowns the dexter one English and the sinister one French, and in base (a view of the entrance to the harbour) at dexter a government building with a dome and two wings with lesser domes, at sinister a fort issuing from the edge of the shield with a flag and flag pole at the dexter end of the fort, in base a man in a canoe. *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Pro rege lege grege". *Supporters*: A lion and a unicorn both rampant.

KITCHENER, ONT.

Argent a beaver on a mount between a branch of oak leaves and acorns, and a branch of maple leaves, crossed in saltire at base, and in chief the date 1916, all tenne. *Crest*: A crown.

LACHINE, QUE.

Quarterly (1) a rose; (2) two fleurs-de-lis palewise in bend; (3) a thistle; (4) a sprig of shamrocks, all proper, over all on an inescutcheon gules a maple leaf vert.

The shield is circular and surrounded by a red garter, charged with the inscription, "Union progrès, cité de Lachine" in sable.

LA PRAIRIE DE LA MAGDELAINE, QUE.

Quarterly (1) per fess in chief three fleurs-de-lis, in base a castle; (2) on a fess, between in chief a log of wood fesswise ensigned by a saw in bend and in base a fish, a sheep; (3) a wigwam; (4) a locomotive. *Crest*: The royal crown. *Motto*: "Ad altiora tendimus". *Supporters*: A soldier with a musket and an Indian with a bow.

LETHBRIDGE, ALTA.

Tierce in pairle, in chief a locomotive, in dexter base a garb and in sinister base an arm embowed issuant from a sleeve and holding a pickaxe. *Crest*: A mural crown. *Motto*: "Ad occasionis junuam".

The shield is circular and the designer of it seems to have had in mind a coat of arms.

LÉVIS, QUE.

Or three chevrons sable. *Motto*: "Dieu ayde au second Chrétien Lévis".

The shield is crowned with a mural crown after the French usage. On the official stationery the tincture lines show the chevrons as azure.

As Dr. Weber explains, the motto is derived from the motto of the Montmorencys, "Dieu aide au premier Chrétien", a motto based on the fact that the Montmorencys were the premier barons of the Chrétienté, a part of the Ile de France.

LINDSAY, ONT.

Per fess, in chief per pale dexter a two-masted two-funnelled steamship with bowsprit, sinister azure a garb, in base a locomotive and tender. *Crest*: A beaver. *Supporters*: Two maple branches.

LONDON, ONT.

Per chevron gules and azure a chevron argent between in chief two garbs or, and in base a beaver on a log of wood in sinister base and in dexter background a tree vert. *Crest*: A locomotive and tender. *Motto*: "Labore et perseverantia". *Supporters*: Dexter a deer and sinister a brown bear.

MACLEOD, ALTA.

Quarterly (1) vert a triple-towered castle embattled argent, masoned sable, windows and port gules; (2) gules three legs in armour embowed conjoined at thigh garnished and spurred or; (3) or a lymphad sable flags gules; (4) gules a lion rampant argent. *Crest*: A bull's head cabossed between two flags gules. *Motto*: "Murus aheneus. Hold fast".

The first quarter is based on the arms of Macleod of Skye (in allusion to Col. Macleod, of the mounted police, in command of the post at its foundation), the second quarter is the arms of the Isle of Man, and the third and fourth quarters are from the arms of Macleod of Rasay.

MAGOG, QUE.

Quarterly (1) on a champagne vert a log house issuant from dexter with a wide door and at dexter a pile of logs, in chief a row of pine trees; (2) a textile factory; (3) farming land with house and barn at dexter and a rail fence in base; (4) two fishing rods in saltire between in chief a salmon fesswise and in base a fisherman's knapsack open. *Motto*: "Progrès et prospérité".

MEDICINE HAT, ALTA.

Quarterly (1) a locomotive; (2) a flour mill; (3) a wheat field; (4) two gas wells. *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Enterprise".

MIDLAND, ONT.

Tierce in pairle, chief azure a grain elevator, dexter a locomotive, sinister a steamship with one mast and two funnels. *Crest*: An Indian in a canoe.

MONCKTON (alias MONCTON), N.B.

Quarterly (1) argent a beehive beset with bees volant; (2) vert three garbs; (3) a locomotive; (4) the sea-shore showing the tidal bore. *Crest*: An arm embowed holding a hammer. *Motto*: "Resurgo". *Supporters*: A blacksmith with anvil and tongs, and a farmer with scythe.

MONTREAL, QUE.

Argent a saltire gules between a rose, a thistle, a trefoil, and a beaver passant or. *Motto*: "Concordia salus".

The trefoil is shown as three trefoils on one stalk but is blazoned officially as "a trefoil". The shield is usually oval and encircled by a blue garter charged with the motto and the two tails of the garter are charged with the words "Corporation Montreal". All the lettering is sable. The trefoil doubtless is considered to be a shamrock.

NEW GLASGOW, N.S.

Quarterly (1) a house; (2) a blacksmith at work at an anvil; (3) a coal car filled with coal; and (4) a ship without masts on the stocks. The shield is circular and surrounded by a garter.

NEWMARKET, ONT.

A beehive beset with bees volant between two branches (crossed in saltire at base), the dexter one oak, the sinister one maple. *Crest*: The royal crown.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.

Argent a cross azure cantoned by a ship at sea, a plow, a Douglas fir tree, and two salmon in saltire. *Crest*: A bear sitting on its haunches. *Motto*: "In God we trust". *Supporters*: Two lions guardant.

ORILLIA, ONT.

Per fess, the chief or a sprig of three maple leaves vert, the base argent an Indian paddling a canoe at sea proper. *Crest*: A crown. *Motto*: "Progress Orillia". *Supporters*: Two deer.

OSHAWA, ONT.

Azure on a bend argent a gear wheel between an upright piano and a sedan automobile with in base of bend an angle iron and a staple, between in chief semy of trees

a road palewise enarched between two factories and a warehouse, and in base semy of trees a river bendwise nebuly surmounted by a road bendwise, and the dexter bend line surmounted by a culvert with opening at base. *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Nulli secundus".

Oshawa means where the road crosses the stream.

The old arms were quarterly (1) gules a tram-car; (2) argent a lake steamer; (3) argent a beehive beset with bees volant; and (4) azure Minerva's head coupé.

OTTAWA

Quarterly (1) a locomotive and tender; (2) a lake, with in the foreground a tree between two stags the dexter one lodged, and in the background a range of hills and the sun issuant; (3) the locks of the Rideau canal; (4) Chaudière Falls and the suspension bridge with a boat in the foreground. *Crest*: "A hand holding a cleaving knife". *Motto*: "Advance". *Supporters*: Dexter a workman with hammer in right hand standing behind an anvil and sinister Justice.

OUTREMONT, QUE.

Uses the arms of the province of Quebec.

OWEN SOUND, ONT.

Argent standing on a champagne vert an inescutcheon, the shield of the city of New York, between an Indian standing and leaning against a tree and a white man seated on a log. In sinister fess on a river a side-wheel steamer. *Motto*: "Arbor virga fuit".

PARIS, ONT.

Quarterly argent and azure, charged (1) an axe; (2) a garb; (3) a plow; and (4) a catherine wheel, counterchanged.

PARRY SOUND, ONT.

Quarterly (1) a lymphad; (2) a fish fesswise; (3) a fir tree; (4) a maple leaf. *Crest*: A stag passant.

PEMBROKE, ONT.

A chevron or between in chief per pale dexter a locomotive, and sinister a steam-boat, with one mast and one funnel, and in base on the waves of the sea a log bendwise floating, in chief a demi-sun in splendour issuant. *Crest*: A white pine tree. *Motto*: "Labore honore". *Supporters*: Two bears.

PENETANGUISHENE, ONT.

On a pile a pine tree, between dexter a river with floating logs and sinister a section of a saw-mill, and on a chief an Indian in a canoe. *Crest*: A royal crown. *Motto*: "The place of the white rolling sands".

The shield is of a peculiar shape, but the designer of it seems to have had in mind a coat of arms.

PERTH, ONT.

On a fess vert a plow (or), between a chief per pale dexter or a sprig of three maple leaves vert and sinister gules a lamb (sable) and in base gules a garb (or). *Motto*: "Festina lente sed certo".

PETERBOROUGH, ONT.

Quarterly (1) per fess the union device and in base a sprig of three maple leaves; (2) a canal, bend-sinister-wise with three canal boats; (3) a railroad train bendwise; (4) a grain elevator. *Crest*: A beaver on a maple log between two small branches with six maple leaves each, the branches growing out of the log, and above the beaver a demi-sun in splendour issuant. *Motto*: "Nature provides and industry develops". *Supporters*: A lumberjack and a workman.

PICTON, ONT.

Argent a demi-lion rampant from a torse all within a garter charged with the motto "Patriotism, perseverance, prudence".

All of the above is on a shield.

POINTE AUX TREMBLES (*en haut*), ÎLE DE MONTRÉAL, QUE.

(Argent) a maple leaf vert charged with a beaver. *Crest*: The royal crown. *Motto*: "Unissons-nous". *Supporters*: Two branches of aspen leaves.

The border around the shield is probably merely ornamental, and not an heraldic border.

PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, MAN.

Per fess in chief a locomotive, in base a stern-wheel river steamer. *Crest*: A plow. *Motto*: "Progress". *Supporters*: Two garbs.

PORT ARTHUR, ONT.

Per pale dexter on a fess a grain steamship in bend alongside a dock issuant from dexter and the lake in the background between in chief a grain elevator with a railroad train at dexter and in base a bridge over a waterfall, sinister per fess in base a saw-mill, the chief per fess in chief a river and bridge and in base a mine; and over all a chief vert charged with the inscription City of Port Arthur, and a champagne purpure a beaver between maple leaves.

The present device on the city seal and stationery is not armorial.

PRESCOTT, ONT.

On a bend azure three maple leaves, between in chief on a mount a windmill and in base a two funnel, one-masted, paddle-wheel steamer issuant. *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Industry and commerce enlighten".

PRESTON, ONT.

Per fess in chief argent between two small gear wheels argent fimbriated (azure) two carter pins in saltire points downwards surmounted by a gear wheel azure, in base azure a haystack with in chief a row of pine trees.

QUEBEC, QUE.

Gules a lion passant guardant crowned holding in his dexter paw a key palewise wards upwards or. *Motto*: "Natura fortis industria crescit".

RADISSON, SASK.

Azure a winged stag passant argent. *Crest*: A crown.

RED DEER, ALTA.

Per fess indented (argent) at dexter a demi-sun in splendour issuant (gules) and vert two cows statant facing each other sable, the sinister one argent, on a chief azure six milk cans argent; and a champagne per pale dexter argent a Van Syke breaking plow sable, sinister azure an open book argent. *Crest*: A red deer's head affrontee (gules). *Motto*: "Education, industry, progress". *Supporters*: A unicorn and a lion.

REGINA, SASK.

Per fess argent a bison proper, purpure a garb or. *Motto*: "Floreat regina". The shield is crowned. The base is shown on official stationery with tincture lines vert by error.

RICHMOND, QUE.

Quarterly (1) gules a natural rose slipped and leaved; (2) a thistle slipped and leaved; (3) a sprig of three shamrocks; (4) a fleur-de-lis. *Crest*: A beaver on a log. *Motto*: "United we prosper".

RIVIÈRE DU LOUP, QUE.

Per fess in chief argent a beaver on a maple log proper, in base gules a stag courant proper. *Crest*: A stag's head.

On the stationery the base is shown per fess argent and azure.

SAINT BONIFACE, MAN.

Per pale dexter per fess in chief vert between two open books a pairle argent charged with three crosses coupée (or), on a chief azure three fleurs-de-lis (or), in base gules a pelican in its passion (or), sinister vert in chief a mullet argent and in base an anchor (or). *Crest*: A Paschal lamb bearing a cross. *Motto*: "Salus a cruce".

ST. CATHARINES, ONT.

Quarterly (1) azure a ship under sail at sea; (2) gules a cornucopia of fruit fesswise; (3) gules a millstone; (4) azure a two-masted steamship at sea. *Crest*: A beehive beset with bees volant. *Motto*: "Industry and liberality".

ST. HYACINTHE, QUE.

Azure on a cross argent, cantoned by (1) and (4) a sprig of three maple leaves; (2) and (3) a cock, a church rising out of flames between in chief a lion of England, and in base a beaver on a log bendwise. *Motto*: "In amore et fortitudine redivimus".

SAINT-JEAN, QUE.

Per fess azure and vert a fess undy argent in chief a demi-eagle displayed issuant of the last, and a chief (the union device) azure a saltire argent charged with a saltire gules over all a cross gules fimbriated argent. *Motto*: "In alta".

SAINT JOHN, N.B.

Quarterly (1) gules a barrel between four fish, in chief a fish, all or; (2) azure on a champagne a row of trees graduated in height and in chief a sun in splendour or; (3) azure a ship or at sea barry undy or and azure; (4) gules two beavers in pale or. The number of trees varies from four to seven and sometimes the highest is at dexter and sometimes at sinister. *Crest*: A crown. *Motto*: "O fortunati quorum jam moenia surgunt". *Supporters*: Two moose.

ST. THOMAS, ONT.

On a bend a plate charged with a garb, between in chief a locomotive and in base three stalks of wheat crossed one palewise and two in saltire. *Crest*: A deer. *Motto*: "Tempora mutantur". *Supporters*: A military officer and a private.

The shield is often made in the shape of a maple leaf.

SARNIA, ONT.

Per fess, the chief per pale dexter a steamboat, sinister a locomotive; the base a railroad track entering a tunnel palewise with in chief a railroad train on a trestle. *Crest*: A beaver.

SASKATOON, SASK.

Per fess, the chief per pale dexter a pile of books ensigned by a pen and inkwell (allusion to the University of Saskatchewan), sinister a factory; and the base a railroad train of coal cars. *Crest*: A lion passant. *Motto*: "Commerce, education, industry".

SAULT STE. MARIE, ONT.

On a barrulet the inscription "Ojibwa kitchi coming ode na" between in chief the lock of a canal palewise with at the end of it the gates of the lock and above them a ship bow on, in the higher lock and in base per pale dexter three goblets and sinister three pine trees. *Crest*: A beaver on a log from both ends of which sprout maple leaves, and above the beaver a crown. *Supporters*: An Indian with tomahawk and shield and a lock keeper with gate-key.

SELKIRK, MAN.

Purple a cross gules cantoned by a locomotive and tender, a two-wheeled cart (evidently a Red river cart), a scow at sea, and a side-wheel steamer contourné at sea. *Motto*: "Per mare per terras".

SHERBROOKE, QUE.

Argent a river palewise between two houses and at base crossed by a railroad bridge with lattice work sides on two piers with a railroad train engine and three cars on the bridge (all azure). *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Onward".

SIMCOE, ONT.

Azure a royal crown.

SIMCOE COUNTY, ONT.

Quarterly (1) and (4) azure a fess undy ermine between in chief three estoiles and in base a cannon or; (2) and (3) argent a lion rampant ermines gorged or. *Crest*: An arm embowed in armour holding a sword.

These are the arms of the family of Simcoe. On the official stationery the ermine spots are omitted so that the fess appears as argent. The crowns are also omitted.

SMITH'S FALLS, ONT.

On a fess azure a waterfall (a chevron paly undy azure and argent), between on a chief argent a cross gules, and on a base argent a harvesting-machine proper.

SOREL, QUE.

Quarterly (1) a side-wheel steamboat contourné; (2) a crenelated fort with the union flag flying from a staff; (3) a beehive beset with bees volant; (4) a printing press and type case. *Motto*: "Arma condiderunt labor et intelligentia sustinent".

Sometimes gules on argent and sometimes azure on argent.

STRATFORD, ONT.

Argent a locomotive and tender azure. *Crest*: A beehive beset with bees volant. *Motto*: "Industry, enterprise". *Supporters*: A man, back view, with a music score and baton (tribute to local brass band which for some years had more than local reputation), and a woman with a lyre in her hand.

SUDBURY, ONT.

On a fess argent a log of wood fesswise surmounted by a lumberjack's saw and an axe in saltire, on a chief vert a plow between two garbs (argent) and on a base or a coal car filled with coal. *Crest*: A moose. *Motto*: "Industry, enterprise, integrity".

SWANSEA, ONT.

Three wigwams and in chief a demi-sun in splendour issuant from behind a mountain range. *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Brulé 1615" (allusion to Brulé's journey over Toronto carrying place in 1615 and first sight of lake Ontario). *Supporters*: Dexter a settler and sinister an Indian with bow.

SYDNEY, N.S.

Argent a fishing schooner with sails furled debruised by a coal pier coupé azure, in base barry undy azure and argent. *Crest*: A fleur-de-lis. *Motto*: "Droit et avant". *Supporters*: A coal miner with a hammer in his left hand and a fisherman with a fish hanging from his left hand.

THOROLD, ONT.

Sable three goats saliant argent in chief an escutcheon argent charged with the hand of Ulster gules. *Crest*: A stag trippant.

TORONTO, ONT.

Quarterly (1) gules three lions passant guardant or; (2) or a beaver proper; (3) argent a garb or; (4) azure a steamboat or. *Crest*: Above a mural crown or, a beaver proper. *Motto*: "Industry, intelligence, integrity". *Supporters*: Dexter an Indian habited proper, with in his belt a scalping knife and in his right hand a tomahawk with his left arm leaning on a bow. Sinister Britannia helmed and cuirassed, holding a trident in her right hand and with her left hand resting on a shield charged with the union of the three crosses proper.

TORONTO HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS

Tierce in pale reversed (1) a two-masted steamship at sea; (2) a railroad train and in base another railroad track; (3) a building.

LES TROIS-RIVIÈRES, QUE.

Per chevron, the chief per pale dexter gules a garb or, sinister or a pickaxe and shovel in saltire handles downwards sable, the base azure a pine tree vert crossed near its base by two axes in saltire handles downwards, blades outward sable, over all a chevron argent charged with three fish the dexter and centre ones contourné azure. *Motto*: "Deus nobiscum quis contra".

TRURO, N.S.

Quarterly (1) a fireman in helmet with hose; (2) a locomotive; (3) a smith pounding at an anvil; (4) a garb surmounted by a plow.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Barry undy argent and azure on a pile gules a caduceus argent. *Crest*: Above a helmet side view and a mural crown the topmast of a square-rigged ship with top sail set and a pennant flying. *Motto*: "By sea and land we prosper". *Supporters*: Dexter a woodman his right hand resting on an axe handle and holding under his left arm a pole raguly bend-sinister-wise; sinister a fisherman in "southwester" costume holding under his right arm an oar bendwise. The tincture lines on the official stationery show the barry as argent and vert.

VICTORIA, B.C.

The profile of Victoria as a young queen, crowned. *Crest*: A dove volant descending with an olive branch in its beak, and above the dove an eye within a triangle radiant. *Motto*: "Semper liber". *Supporters*: Two angels with hands clasped between the dove and the triangle.

WALKERTON, ONT.

Quarterly (1) an arm embowed holding a hammer; (2) a garb; (3) an Indian's head; (4) a pair of scales. *Motto*: "Cura et industria".
Below the shield is a beaver.

WALKERVILLE, ONT.

On a bend between in chief a lion rampant and in base a fleur-de-lis, the word "Walkerville". *Crest*: A beaver. *Motto*: "Honest worth".

WALLACEBURG, ONT.

A beaver passant between two branches, the dexter oak, the sinister maple. *Crest*: The royal crown.

WELLAND, ONT.

Argent a lion saliant azure. *Crest*: A locomotive and tender. *Motto*: "Where rails and water meet". *Supporters*: Two steamships bow on.

WESTMOUNT, QUE.

(Argent) a maple leaf (vert). *Crest*: A mural crown.

WESTON, ONT.

Sable the inscription "Equal justice to all" argent in three lines, all within a border gules. *Crest*: A dove volant holding in its beak an olive branch and three mullets of six points above the branch. *Supporters*: Two branches of maple.

WHITBY, ONT.

Azure a two-masted fishing schooner under sail at sea proper, on a chief argent a locomotive and tender. *Crest*: A beaver.

WINDSOR, ONT.

Per fess in chief a locomotive and in base a ferryboat. *Crest*: A beaver holding in his mouth a branch of three twigs. *Motto*: "Per mare per terras".

WINNIPEG, MAN.

Vert three garbs or, on a chief azure a locomotive and tender or. *Crest*: A bison statant proper. *Motto*: "Commerce, prudence, industria".

City clerk is authority for colours. The official stationery shows the field by tincture lines azure not vert, and in the manual the tincture lines show gules. The city clerk says the engine is yellow outlined in black with black wheels.

WOODSTOCK, ONT.

Quarterly (1) England; (2) Scotland; (3) Ireland; and (4) vert a beaver proper. *Crest*: On a royal crown a beaver. *Motto*: "Onward". *Supporters*: Lion and unicorn.

THE RETREAT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IN THE PACIFIC NORTH-WEST

IN the 1830's there began a gradual infiltration of Americans into the Oregon country that boded ill for the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in that region. The resulting complications caused the American government to send a series of emissaries to investigate the trade and conditions in the Pacific north-west. The reports of these envoys and the writings of the American settlers influenced both the company and the United States government and are historically significant. As early as 1835 President Jackson dispatched an agent to Oregon. On November 11 of that year John Forsyth, secretary of state, instructed William A. Slacum to "endeavor to obtain all such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical, as may prove useful or interesting to this Government". Slacum reported, March 26, 1837, that "A custom-house, established at the mouth of the Columbia, would effectually protect the American trader from the monopoly which the Hudson Bay Company enjoy at this time, and a single military post would be sufficient to give effect to the laws of the United States, and protect our citizens in their lawful avocations".¹

Relative to Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, Slacum wrote that the Rev. Jason Lee, Methodist missionary, "acknowledges the kindest assistance", and that McLoughlin gave Lee "the use of horses, and milch cows, and furnished him with all his supplies". Slacum declared that the chief factor "has acted toward many of the settlers in the same manner. . .". This is a motif that runs through all the contemporary reports upon Oregon, with the exception of Hall Jackson Kelley's memoir. The very people who denounced the Hudson's Bay Company and the arbitrary conduct of the chief factor, recounted the kindness and generosity of the latter toward themselves. In the case of Kelley peculiar circumstances obtained: McLoughlin had been informed by the Spanish governor of California that Kelley was a horse thief. The resulting *contretemps* doubtless accounts for Kelley's bitterness when he wrote:

. . . Before I had been long in the country, I learned that the factor and his agents were preparing, in every artful way, to render my abode there uncomfortable

¹Slacum's report, dated March 26, 1837, was printed as *Senate document*, no. 24, 25 congress, 2 sess. and in *House report*, no. 101, 25 congress, 3 sess.

and unsafe. The most preposterous calumnies and slanders were set on foot in regard to my character, conduct, and designs. All my movements were watched, and, in some instances, I was threatened with violence, by persons who had been instigated, as I had reason to believe, by the Company. Had I been willing to place myself under the control and direction of the Company, all would have been peace; but so long as I was resolved to act independently, as an American on American soil, seeking authentic information, for general diffusion, and pursuing the avowed purpose of opening the trade of the territory to general competition, and the wealth of the country to general participation and enjoyment, so long was I an object of dread and dislike to the grasping monopolists of the Hudson's Bay Company.

. . . I remained, therefore, in Oregon no longer than was needful . . . and so long as I did remain, I was treated very much like a prisoner of war, although not subjected to actual confinement.

However, Kelley did present an accurate picture of the fur trade as it existed in the Pacific north-west in 1839. "For nearly twenty years", he wrote,

. . . the Hudson's Bay Company have exercised an almost unlimited control over the Indian tribes and the trade of the whole country west of the Rocky mountains.

. . . The company exercises full authority over all, whether Indians, English, or Americans, who are in its service, and in a manner always injurious, and generally disastrous, to all others who undertake to trade in that territory. It may be said, in fact, that Americans, except associated with this company, are not permitted to carry on a traffic within several hundred miles of the company's posts.²

The following year James H. Lanman declared that "Wherever the Hudson's Bay Company plants its iron footsteps, there the American trade is sure to decline".³ Every writer of the period recounted this phase of the trade in Oregon. Captain T. Spaulding, of the *Lausanne*, who arrived in June, 1840, with a cargo of American missionaries, said that not only did the company monopolize the trade but also erected flour and saw mills. "Their resources are immense, and their ambition unbounded", he wrote, and they have

. . . arrogated to themselves the almost exclusive occupation of the Columbia river. Nor does the selfish grasping at all this satisfy them; for they annually send a large party through the acknowledged territory of the United States, to California, to trap beaver . . . while, in passing through the country, they commit every depredation upon the poor defenceless and peaceful Indians living within the defined and acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States, actually murdering hundreds of them every year. . . .

²Kelley's memoir on Oregon, dated Jan. 31, 1839, was printed as appendix O of *House report*, no. 101, 25 congress, 3 sess.

³J. H. Lanman, "The American fur trade" (*Hunt's merchants' magazine and commercial review*, N.Y., Sept., 1840, 202).

Their trapping party this last year consisted of about seventy men . . . they brought in an average quantity of two hundred and sixty beaver to each man, all caught within our territory, say eighteen thousand two hundred beaver, worth five dollars each; making the sum total, or full value of the skins, worth \$91,000, all or nearly all taken "*south*" of the Columbia and "*north*" of California. . . .
 . . . Is it not high time that our Government, after so long a delay, should arouse itself to the protection of its own interests in Oregon? For, if it sleep but a little longer, that valuable territory is certainly lost to us forever. . . .

Almost in the same breath Spaulding says that "Indeed, I received every civility, not only from the doctor [McLoughlin], but from all the Hudson's Bay Company's servants . . .". If his imaginative fairy tale of "poor defenceless and peaceful Indians" had been an opinion orally expressed, it would probably not be important, but the Spaulding journal, like the other memoirs on Oregon, was officially published by the United States congress.⁴ It was an expansionist era in American history and the chauvinists were in the saddle in Washington, D.C. Such reports fed the flames kindled by the super-patriots. Impressed by the crescendo of accusation emanating from the north-west, the United States government instructed Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., who was on a world exploring expedition, to investigate conditions. During his stay in Oregon (1841) Wilkes considered the charges made against McLoughlin and the Hudson's Bay Company. His verdict, which was favourable to the accused, read:

A charge has been made against the Company, that they were desirous of exterminating the beaver south of the Columbia, and would continue to hunt them until every fur-bearing animal was exhausted. This, from the information I received, I believe to be erroneous; the story has probably proceeded from feelings of rivalry on the part of those who spread the report.

Another charge made against them, of exciting attacks on the free trappers, who are generally from our borders, is to be received with many allowances. It has been made in many cases from interested motives; and I am satisfied that nothing of this kind could emanate from Vancouver, or from any of the officers.

The whole conduct of Dr. McLaughlin is totally at variance with such a course: every facility has been at all times extended to new-comers and settlers; it is sufficient that they are of good character, and the use of cattle, horses, farming utensils, and supplies, is invariably extended to facilitate their operations, until such time as they are able to provide for themselves.

During our stay at Vancouver, I had the pleasure of seeing many members of the Willamette Mission; but they were unable to give me much information. They invariably spoke of Dr. M'Laughlin in the highest terms; they were averse to his absolute rule over the whole territory, and, although it was considered by them as despotic, they could not adduce any instance of the wrong application of

⁴House report, no. 830, 27 congress, 2 sess., appendix.

his power. He is notwithstanding extremely unpopular among all classes of our countrymen, but for what reason it is difficult to conceive.⁵

When Wilkes appeared in Oregon, "a petty dispute" was in progress between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Rev. A. F. Waller, who "complained of them. It seems", the lieutenant reported,

that the Company refuse to buy any beaver-skins, except from the hunters and trappers; and he accuses them of monopoly in consequence. The Company, on the other hand, say that they have no idea of selling goods out of their own stores, for the purpose of enabling others to enter into competition with them; and that they will spare no expense to keep the trade, as long as they can, in their own hands. This is certainly not unfair. I cannot help feeling it is quite unsuited to the life of a missionary, to be entering into trade of any kind. To embark in traffic must, I think, tend to destroy the usefulness of a missionary, or divert his attention from the great cause in which he is engaged. I am very far from attaching any blame on this account to the missionaries, whose avowed object is to teach the arts of civilization, as well as the Word of God, and I have no doubt that they are doing all in their power to promote the latter object; but I am disposed to think, that any complaints against the Hudson's Bay Company for endeavouring to keep the trade in their own hands, comes with an ill grace from the members of a mission who are daily receiving the kindest attentions and hospitality from its officers.⁶

The American colonists in the Pacific north-west were not pleased with the honest verdict of Lieutenant Wilkes and sought to find improper motives for it. On March 25, 1843, sixty-five citizens of Oregon in a memorial to congress declared: "When any United States government officers of distinction arrive, Vancouver is thrown open, and every facility afforded them. They were even more condescending to the settlers during the time the exploring squadron was in the Columbia; nothing was left undone to give the officers a high opinion of the honorable Hudson Bay Company."⁷ As early as 1842 the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Victoria, on the southern end of Vancouver Island. The bellicose nationalism of the American colonists and the declining fur resources of the Oregon country clearly pointed toward evacuation, although Sir George Simpson did not advance these as motives for the founding of Fort Victoria.⁸ McLoughlin had pursued a policy of encouragement to the settlers and at the time of his resignation in 1846 had extended to them credit totalling

⁵Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States exploring expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia, 1844), V, 144-5.

⁶*Ibid.*, IV, 367-8; in the same year Sir George Simpson wrote of the Methodist missionaries that they "seem to direct their attention more to temporal than spiritual affairs" (*American historical review*, Oct., 1908, 82).

⁷Senate document, no. 165, 28 congress, 1 sess.

⁸*American historical review*, Oct., 1908, 83.

more than \$30,000. He was criticized by Simpson and others for his liberal treatment of the newcomers.⁹ McLoughlin wrote that "... it was my Duty to do my Utmost to maintain peace and order Between the British Subjects and American Citizens and I Exerted my Utmost Endeavours to do Especially as I Knew in the state of the public mind in Great Britain and the United States if Difficulties Unfortunately arose . . . in this Country the two nations would be Involved in War . . .".¹⁰

There is little doubt that his conciliatory attitude prevented acts of violence toward the company's property when war was threatened. In the summer of 1845 he found it necessary to participate in the provisional government set up by the Americans, since "... we can conceive no other means by which our influence can be maintained, or support given to British subjects settled in Wallamette and in other points south of Columbia River".¹¹ It was not that McLoughlin failed to realize the danger of settlement to the fur trade: that he knew, but he also knew that a constant source for supplies was vital. He once wrote that "I would not have encouraged farming in this country, but it was impossible to carry on the trade without it". The story of Oregon exemplifies the truth of Mr. Innis's sententious remark that the history of the fur trade in North America is "a retreat in the face of settlement".¹²

Fully alive to the persistent hostility of American settlers and the inflammatory speeches in the United States congress, Sir George Simpson reported to the head office in London, June 20, 1845, that,

The proceedings in Congress and other reports in the public prints which find their way to the Wallamette, by every opportunity, seem to inflame the minds of the great body of the most ignorant settlers against us, who look upon us as intruders; and if they were not overawed in some degree by the semblance of law that exists, and a feeling that we are in a situation to resent any aggression that might be openly attempted, there would be no salvation, either for the lives or property of British Subjects; and notwithstanding a certain degree of popularity which the Company's officers enjoy, arising from the hospitalities and assistance that have been rendered to almost every American, who has come to the Country,

⁹Reports of Warre and Vavasour on Oregon, 1845-6 (in *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, March, 1909 and in *Washington historical quarterly*, April, 1912); Douglas MacKay, *The honourable company* (Toronto, 1936), 208-9.

¹⁰H. A. Leader, "McLoughlin's answer to Warre report" (*Oregon historical quarterly*, Sept., 1932); for additional narratives and letters of McLoughlin, see *Transactions of the . . . Oregon Pioneer Association*, 1880 (1881), 47-55; *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, June, 1900, 193-206; and *American historical review*, Oct., 1915, 104-34.

¹¹McLoughlin to Governor John Henry Pelly, dated Fort Vancouver, Aug. 30, 1845 (*Oregon historical quarterly*, March, 1928, 72-3).

¹²R. E. Pinkerton, *Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1932), 270; H. A. Innis, *The fur trade in Canada* (New Haven, 1930), 389.

the Honble Company as a body is looked upon with much jealous rancour and hostility leading to serious apprehensions in the minds of the Council that the Depot at Fort Vancouver, and other posts within reach of these people, are not safe from plunder. These apprehensions have determined us on giving directions that the business in the neighborhood of the Wallamette Falls, be concentrated as much as possible and that the great bulk of the property in depot at Vancouver be removed to Fort Victoria, which is intended to be made the principal depot of the Country, as you will observe by the instructions contained in . . . my Dispatch of the 16th inst. addressed to Messrs Chief Factors McLoughlin, Ogden and Douglas . . .¹³

The treaty of June 15, 1846, brought to an end the long struggle for sovereignty in the Oregon country and named the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of the United States west of the Rocky mountains. In addition it provided:

Article II. From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia river, the navigation of the said branch shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual portages along the line thus described shall in like manner be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood, that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing or intending to prevent, the government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers, not inconsistent with the present treaty.

Article III. In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property, lawfully acquired, within the said territory, shall be respected.

Article IV. The farms, lands, and other property of every description, belonging to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, on the north side of the Columbia river, shall be confirmed to the said company. In case, however, the situation of those farms and lands should be considered by the United States to be of public and political importance, and the United States government should signify a desire to obtain possession of the whole, or of any part thereof, the property so required shall be transferred to the said government, at a proper valuation, to be agreed upon between the parties.¹⁴

The Puget's Sound Agricultural Company mentioned in the treaty was formed in 1839 to engage in farming in the Oregon country. On February 26, 1857, Sir George Simpson testified before a committee of the British house of commons that it was "an offshoot of the Hudson's Bay Company; an agricultural establishment

¹³R. C. Clark, *History of the Willamette valley, Oregon* (Indianapolis, 1927), I, 822.

¹⁴*Senate document*, no. 476 and *Senate document*, no. 489, 29 congress, 1 sess.

formed by the Hudson's Bay Company, or parties connected with or interested in the Hudson's Bay Company, encouraged by the Government of the day".¹⁵

For a few years after 1846 relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American settlers improved, due in part to the wisdom of the corporation officials. The most important instance of the latter occurred after the Whitman massacre of November 29, 1847. When word reached Fort Vancouver that the Rev. Marcus Whitman, his wife, and others had been murdered by the Indians near Walla Walla, Peter Skene Ogden, chief factor, at once hurried to the scene and met the savages, from whom he demanded and obtained release of the survivors.¹⁶ The company's position, despite these improved relations, was no longer that of master but of guest by treaty stipulation. Trade declined because the beaver were diminishing and the company had to pay duty on trading goods imported from England. Occasionally events transpired which aroused antagonism toward the company. On May 25, 1850, Samuel R. Thurston, delegate in congress from Oregon territory, wrote to Thomas Ewing, secretary of the interior, that Joseph Lane, territorial governor, had purchased some blankets from the Hudson's Bay Company for distribution to the Indians as gifts: ". . . when they were delivered by the agents of the Company to the Indians, as per Gov. Lane's orders", he continued, "these agents of the Company represented to the Indians and made them believe that those blankets were presents from the H.B. Company".¹⁷ Whether true or not, and it probably was true, the charge had definite repercussions in Washington, D.C. On July 20, 1850, Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, instructed Anson Dart, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon territory, that

It has been represented that most of the goods that have been given to the Indians of Oregon, have been purchased of the Hudson's Bay Company, thereby conveying to the Indians the false impression that they were conferred by persons belonging to a foreign government. . . . As it is adverse to the policy of our Indian relations, as well as injurious and insulting to our government, to cause these people to believe themselves the recipients of foreign gratuities, I would suggest that you make all purchases from American citizens when practicable,

¹⁵"Report from the select committee on the Hudson's Bay Company" (*Parliamentary papers*, Great Britain, *Reports from committees, house of commons*, no. 224, 260, 1857, 2 sess., 64).

¹⁶T. C. Elliott, "Peter Skene Ogden, fur trader" (*Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Sept., 1910).

¹⁷Manuscript letter in the Oregon file, Indian office, department of the interior, Washington, D.C.

and embrace every opportunity to impress on the Indians that it is the American Government and not the British that confers upon them these benefits. The Indians should also be prevented from crossing the line into the British possessions. The Hudson's Bay Company has so long wielded an undue influence over the Indians within their reach, that you may perhaps find it a difficult matter to carry out these views; but perseverance will no doubt finally effect it, or, at least, go far towards correcting the present condition of affairs. Under no circumstances should the company be permitted to have trading establishments within the limits of our territory; and if any such establishments now exist, they should be promptly proceeded with in accordance with the requirements of the intercourse law.¹⁸

The law referred to was the act of June 5, 1850, by which congress provided "That the law regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, or such provisions of the same as may be applicable, be extended over the Indian tribes in the Territory of Oregon". That this act brought into force in Oregon the law of June 30, 1834, which stated that "no license to trade with the Indians shall be granted to any persons except citizens of the United States" was the view expressed by Caleb Cushing, attorney-general of the United States, in two opinions supplied in 1854 and 1855 to Robert McClelland, secretary of the interior.¹⁹ In the American system of constitutional law a treaty and a statute are of equal standing, precedence being given to the latest enactment; hence the law of 1850 in effect superseded the treaty of 1846. However, the execution of the law was attended with difficulties, as Dart soon discovered after arriving in Oregon. The Hudson's Bay people claimed the right to trade under treaty stipulations and Dart was in a quandary. He finally decided not to enforce the law, pending further word from Washington, and he so informed Luke Lea in a letter dated Oregon city, October 22, 1850. A few weeks later, on February 12, 1851, the commissioner replied that the question was being referred to the secretary of state for decision.²⁰ Dart suggested to the government (1851) "the propriety" of purchasing the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. "The advantages possessed by them", he wrote, "are such as to seriously affect the interests of our own traders in *what should be our own country*".²¹

The United States government was not disposed to yield, though the difficulties of enforcement were realized, since it would

¹⁸*Senate executive document*, no. 1, part I, 31 congress, 2 sess., 148-9.

¹⁹*The statutes-at-large of the U.S.A.*, IV (1846), 729-35; IX (1851), 437; *Official opinions of the attorneys general of the United States*, VII (1856), 293-9.

²⁰Manuscript letters in the Oregon file, Indian office, department of the interior, Washington, D.C.

²¹*Senate executive document*, no. 1, part III, 32 congress, 1 sess., 473-4.

arouse not only the Hudson's Bay Company but the British government. On April 15, 1853, Isaac I. Stevens, governor of the newly established Washington territory, asked specifically about the rights of the corporation in a letter to George W. Manypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs. Manypenny replied by sending Stevens a copy of the 1850 instructions given Dart, but said: ". . . while expressing my concurrence with the views presented, to enjoin upon you the exercise of the utmost prudence and discretion touching your action in relation to this delicate and important subject." Such instructions were welcomed by Stevens, who wrote that "I am determined, in my intercourse with the Indians, to break up the ascendancy of the Hudson's Bay Company, and permit no authority or sanction to come between the Indians and the officers of this government".²²

In the meanwhile, William L. Marcy, secretary of state in the administration of Franklin Pierce, was developing an exceedingly ingenious theory concerning the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company under the treaty. On June 3, 1853, he instructed Governor Stevens as follows:

. . . So far as these rights attach to the Land, they are the bare rights of possession acquired by the occupants prior to the date of that treaty. So long as they choose to remain in the possession of the lands then held, the treaty secures them from molestation. . . .

The possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and British subjects are rights appertaining directly and immediately to the land and other property.

It is probable that in many instances these lands were occupied as establishments for trading with the Indian tribes in the vicinity. The rights which by the terms of treaty are to be respected, do not include the privilege to continue that trade within the limits of the territory of Washington. . . .

The 2d article secures to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to British subjects trading with it, the right of transit on the Columbia River, and "the great northern branch of it" and other rivers necessary to be used as a line of communication with the possessions of said company. It is not anticipated that any difficulty will arise as to the proper construction of this provision. The company and British subjects trading with it, have a right to navigate the Columbia river and the great northern branch of it, and the right of transit over portages on the way for the purpose of carrying on their trade within the possessions of that company. To this object the right is clearly restricted. Neither the Columbia river or any of its branches, nor the portages can be used, under the treaty, by the Hudson's Bay Company or British subjects, for the purpose of trading with the Indians or settlers within the

²²Hazard Stevens, *The life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens* (Boston, 1900), I, 297; *Senate executive document*, no. 1, part 1, 33 congress, 1 sess., 453-7.

limits of our territories. Such intercourse, if allowed, will be subject to such restrictions and regulations, as the United States may choose to impose.²³

It is true that the treaty of 1846 does not specify trading with the Indians, but all parties to the treaty, at the time of consummation, assumed that the term possessory rights included the fur trade. For the British government to propose a treaty which did not secure to the Hudson's Bay Company the right to continue in the trade would be inconceivable. Marcy's pronouncement was an arbitrary and unilateral decision. Of the manner of its enforcement Governor Stevens, in an address to the territorial legislature, February 28, 1854, said:

I also call your attention to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and the position they occupy in this Territory. They have certain rights granted to them by the treaty of 1846, to the security of which the faith of the United States is pledged. It certainly cannot conduce to the welfare of this Territory to have situated in our midst a foreign corporation, usurping a large proportion of the trade, and annually carrying off great amounts of specie from the country. . . .

In regard to the Hudson's Bay Company, great difficulty it is apprehended, cannot occur. Their right to trade with the Indians is not recognised, and will no longer be allowed. Under instructions from the Secretary of State, I have already addressed a note to them on this subject, and have allowed them until the first of July next, to wind up their affairs. After that time, the laws regulating intercourse with the Indians will be rigidly enforced.

Subsequently, on December 5, 1854, Stevens informed the legislature that the federal government was "fully impressed with the importance . . . of relieving this territory from the pressure of foreign corporations in our midst".²⁴ The Hudson's Bay Company continued to trade at Fort Nez-Percés (Walla Walla) until October 13, 1855, when they were ordered out by Nathan Olney, United States Indian agent. The United States was involved in a series of Indian wars in the north-west and Olney feared for the lives of the Hudson's Bay men. Upon evacuation Olney threw into the Columbia river 400 pounds of gunpowder and 1,008 pounds of ball belonging to the company, to keep these supplies from falling into the hands of the savages. For these Olney gave James Sinclair, agent of the company, a receipt. As a result of the warfare Fort Boisé, on the north bank of the Snake, nearly opposite the mouth of the Owyhee, and Fort Hall, on the south bank of the Snake, near its head, some 600 miles from Walla

²³Department of state, Washington, D.C.: Manuscript dispatch, Domestic letters, XLI, 405-9.

²⁴*Journal of the council of the territory of Washington*, 1854, 1855, and *Journal of the house of representatives of the territory of Washington*, 1854, 1855 (4 vols., Olympia, 1855).

Walla, were abandoned in 1855-6.²⁵ Both were important posts in the trade. Fort Colville, which the company retained, was situated upon the south bank of the Columbia, above Kettle falls. Fort George (Astoria) had long since ceased to be important and had been occupied by the United States authorities in 1849-50.

The company withdrew, in part at least, from economic motives. In August, 1854 the United States government instructed Governor Stevens and Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon, to negotiate with the savages for "the extinguishment of the Indian claims to the lands, and the concentration of all the tribes and fragments of tribes on a few reserves of limited extent. . .".²⁶ The execution of this policy, as Chief Factor Dugald MacTavish later declared, left ". . . no Indians to trade with, except at their stations at Fort Colville, the Kootenay and Flatheads. This statement will at once account for the falling off of the Company's fur trade at the posts mentioned, which occurred not in consequence of any fault of the Company, but owing to the want of that protection from the United States Government which they had a right to look for under the treaty of 1846."²⁷

The British government and the Hudson's Bay Company protested against the letter of December 20, 1853, sent by Governor Stevens to Peter Skene Ogden, ordering the company to cease trading with the Indians in Washington territory by July 1, 1854.²⁸ Secretary Marcy declined to order any delay in enforcement and the federal government continued to maintain that the Hudson's Bay Company had no right to engage in the fur trade on American soil. On October 22, 1854, Joel Palmer, in response to an inquiry from George L. Curry, governor of Oregon, said that the only order he had received from the commissioner of Indian affairs relative to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company was a copy of the instructions to Governor Stevens, which had been forwarded for his guidance.²⁹ Such orders could not be enforced in their entirety unless the company should supinely yield, and with the constant

²⁵*Evidence for the United States* (Washington, 1867), IV, 61; *Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Montreal, 1868), 217, 383-4.

²⁶*Senate executive document*, no. 1, part I, 34 congress, 1 sess., 332.

²⁷*Evidence for the United States*, IV, 59-60.

²⁸Letters from John F. Crampton to Sir George Simpson, dated Washington, D.C., April 24, 1854, from Stevens to Ogden, Dec. 20, 1853, and from Simpson to Stevens (in protest), March 20, 1854, are printed in *Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 368-70, 372-6, 446; see also 459-61 for a statement concerning the Hudson's Bay Company's many protests to the British government.

²⁹*Journal of the council of the territory of Oregon*, 1854, appendix, and *Journal of the house of representatives of the territory of Oregon*, 1854, appendix (2 vols., Corvallis, 1855).

backing of the British government, that could hardly be. Sir George Simpson twice journeyed to Washington, D.C., in October, 1853, and January, 1855, to discuss the corporation's rights with Secretary of State Marcy.³⁰ As a matter of practical diplomacy, the United States government was constrained to permit the Hudson's Bay Company to continue trading. Otherwise it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to maintain peaceful relations with Great Britain.

Although the Hudson's Bay Company was allowed to trade, the era was not one of peace. The decade of the 1850's was a period of adjustment for both sides. The corporation for the first time in its history was trading on a large scale in a foreign country, the government of which, in the exuberance of its newly established authority, sought to disallow rights supposedly pledged by that government in an international compact. Scarcely was one dispute disposed of before another arose to take its place. On March 13, 1855, John Wilson, commissioner of the general land office, wrote to James Tilton, surveyor-general of Washington territory, ordering him to extend the public surveys over the lands of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, "up to actual settlements of the British claimants". Subsequently Tilton wrote to Chief Factor Dugald MacTavish on April 28 requesting "a map or authoritative statement of your claim or claims on the Columbia River near Fort Vancouver". MacTavish replied on May 9 that he was unable "to define any precise limits to the claims of the company, not having authority to that effect from the Governor and committee in London," without which any opinion of his own would not be binding upon the corporation. Whereupon Tilton began surveying the lands in accordance with the orders from the general government, and MacTavish wrote again on July 21 declaring that ". . . it becomes my duty in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, to protest most solemnly against any surveys being carried on by the United States Govern-

³⁰On January 15, 1855, Secretary Marcy wrote to Joseph Lane as follows: "I will thank you, should it be convenient, to call at this Department at 12 o'clock to morrow, for the purpose of meeting Sir George Simpson, at a conference in relation to the Possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory embraced within the limits of the United States by the Treaty of 1846" (Department of state, Washington, D.C.: Manuscript letter, Domestic letters, XLIII, 315). Marcy seems not to have left any account of what occurred at this meeting, either in the official records of the department of state or in his private papers in the Library of Congress. Lane left no record of it in the Lane papers in the Oregon Historical Society. Sir George Simpson reported upon the conference in a dispatch to Andrew Colvile, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated Jan. 20, 1855 (Manuscript letter, in the Archives of the Company in London, England).

ment or other parties, over lands in this Territory, claimed by the Company, under the treaty. . .".

In the meanwhile, the federal government was modifying and clarifying its position. On July 19 George C. Whitney, acting commissioner of the general land office, informed Tilton that the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company

and the claims of individuals who were *in the occupation of lands* at the date of the treaty are to be respected, and while the American agents are anxious to respect such claims, in good faith, it remains for the British claimants to prove what were their localities and outlines of claims at the time of the treaty; and, in the absence of other and more reliable evidence, the public surveys can respect nothing that lies *outside* of what were *enclosed claims* in 1846. Such course of proceeding is deemed valid in respect to the claims of individuals; and Mr. MacTavish is to be expressly notified by you that such will also be the proceeding in regard to the claim of the company he represents in case evidence from the Hudson's Bay authorities, duly *authenticated*, is not forthcoming. Meanwhile, however, you will cause no other than township lines to be extended over the claims. . . .³¹

American federal and territorial officials in the north-west repeatedly spoke of the Hudson's Bay Company in provocative tones. Outstanding among the firebrands was Governor Stevens, who invariably made some reference to the "foreigners" in his executive messages. In December, 1856, he informed the territorial legislature that

. . . nothing has yet been effected in the way of relieving the territory from the foreign corporations in our midst. This want of action is retarding the settlement of the country, and has specially of late, been the cause of mischievous results. Colville is at this moment practically a British dependency, the road thither is closed to American citizens. Forts have been established north of the 49th parallel, a road has been opened to Frazer's river. I rejoice at the prosperity of our neighbors, but I mourn at its being built up at our expense, through the supineness of our troops, who have not opened the road to our citizens through our own territory, and through the failure of congress to act.³²

The statement about the road being closed to Americans presumably refers to the hostilities then subsisting between the United States and the Indian tribes of Washington territory. In connection with these wars the conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company was sometimes denounced by American officials. On September 28, 1854, Superintendent Joel Palmer wrote to Agent Nathan Olney from Dayton, Oregon territory, of reports reaching him ". . . that persons in the service of the Hudson's Bay Com-

³¹The letters of Wilson, Tilton, Whitney, and MacTavish are printed in the *Journal of the council of the territory of Washington*, 1855, appendix, and in the *Journal of the house of representatives of the territory of Washington*, 1855, appendix (2 vols., Olympia, 1856).

³²*Ibid.*, 1856, appendix (2 vols., Olympia, 1857).

pany, at Fort Boisé, have, since the late massacre, furnished arms and ammunition to the Indians, receiving in return, money taken by them from our murdered citizens. . . . I (in connection with this subject) suggest the propriety of closing the doors of Fort Boisé, as a trading post of the H.B. Company."³³ It is impossible, in the year 1937, to determine positively the truth of such a charge, but the letter indicates the nature of the prevailing rumours. Quite possibly the accusation was true, since arms and ammunition were sold to the Indians by all traders, but this is far from saying that the Hudson's Bay Company officially desired the murder of United States citizens. In consideration of the type of men employed as traders and factors such a course would be unthinkable. But both rumours and events caused friction. In 1858 American officials were disturbed because the Hudson's Bay people at Fort Colville purchased some horses from the savages which had been stolen from United States troops. One would like to know whether the horses were branded. J. W. Nesmith, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon and Washington, seemed to feel that it was an insult. On August 2, 1858, he wrote to John Owen, special agent, Flathead nation, as follows:

You are also requested to warn the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Colville to desist from encouraging the Indians in stealing and marauding by purchasing from them the property captured or stolen from the government or citizens of the United States. You will also warn him against supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, and communicate such acts of the kind as may come to your knowledge to the commanding officer of the column now approaching Colville. If the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have knowingly become the recipients of stolen property, they are as guilty as the thief who stole it; which, together with their furnishing arms and ammunition to murder our people, should stamp them with infamy, and cause their expulsion from American soil. . . .³⁴

Under these circumstances it seemed fortunate that on May 30, 1859, there expired the royal licence which had been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by Queen Victoria twenty-one years before. The licence provided

. . . for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America, to the northward and to the westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America, as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or to any European government, state or power, but

³³Palmer's letter is printed in the *Journal of the council of the territory of Oregon*, 1854, appendix, and *Journal of the house of representatives of the territory of Oregon*, 1854, appendix.

³⁴For the text of Nesmith's letter, see *Senate executive document*, no. 1, part I, 35 congress, 2 sess., 623-4.

subject nevertheless as hereinafter mentioned . . . nothing in this our Grant contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, or their successors, or any persons in their employ, to claim or exercise any trade with the Indians on the North-west coast of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any of the subjects of any foreign states, who, under or by force of any convention for the time being between us and such foreign states respectively, may be entitled to and shall be engaged in the said trade. . . .³⁶

In the view of the United States the possessory rights of the corporation expired with the royal licence of May 30, 1838, although no such limitation appears in the text of the treaty of 1846. However, the question had been raised at the time. When the British government submitted the text of a proposed treaty in June, 1846, President Polk took the unusual step of asking the senate if he should accept it. That body advised him affirmatively, but in the discussion voted down attempts to limit the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to the period of the royal licence. When the signed treaty was formally considered, the senate again voted down an attempt to insert a definite term of years during which the corporation's rights would be recognized.³⁶ Nevertheless, on June 13, 1846, during the interval between the first advice tendered by the senate and the signing of the treaty, James Buchanan, secretary of state, wrote to Louis McLane, United States minister in London, as follows:

I have learnt from the best sources that the Senate gave this advice under the conviction that, by the true construction of the second article of the projet [*sic*], the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to navigate the Columbia would expire with the termination of their present license to trade with the Indians, &c. on the north-west coast of America, on the 30th May, 1859. In a conversation with Mr. Pakenham [British Minister to the United States] today I communicated this fact to him, and requested him to state it in his dispatch to Lord Aberdeen [British Foreign Secretary].

The treaty will be signed and sent to the Senate on Monday next; and it is more than probable that they will, in some form or other, place upon their records their understanding of its true construction in this particular.³⁷

The senate failed to make any such reservation, but some months later it was stated that no protest had been received from the British government against Secretary Buchanan's interpretation of the treaty.³⁸ The result was that on September 29, 1859,

³⁶"Hudson's Bay Company" (*Parliamentary papers*, Great Britain, house of commons return, no. 547, 1842, 9-11).

³⁷*Journal of the executive proceedings of the senate of the U.S.A.*, VII (1887), 84 ff.

³⁸*Senate document*, no. 489, 29 congress, 1 sess., 48-9.

³⁹*Congressional globe*, 29 congress, 1 sess., appendix, 867-9.

Joseph S. Wilson, acting commissioner of the general land office, informed the surveyor-general of Washington territory that the possessory rights of the corporation had expired and ordered him "to extend the lines of the public surveys over the tract of country in question. . .".³⁹ Some months later, on September 20, 1860, Surveyor-General Tilton reported that he had, "to the great satisfaction of the settlers, subdivided the land (about 33,000 acres) claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, on the lower Columbia, which included the town of Vancouver, Fort Vancouver, and some sixty or seventy donation claims".⁴⁰ Henry Hulse Berens, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, ordered Alexander Grant Dallas, who later succeeded Simpson as Canadian chief of the firm, to retain possession of company property, but prior to receipt of these orders Dallas decided that the corporation's position at Fort Vancouver was untenable, and on May 10, 1860, notified Brigadier-General William S. Harney, United States military commander, of his intended withdrawal.⁴¹ In informing the Washington territorial legislature of these events, Governor Henry M. McGill revealed the attitude of the United States government upon the treaty rights of the corporation: "It has been decided", he wrote, on December 6, 1860, "that these *rights* were merely a license to trade, and did not convey title to the soil". McGill also revealed the reason for the steady encroachment of American settlers upon lands claimed by the two British companies and the extent of this expropriation: "The bottoms on the Nisqually are very fertile; and the town of Steilacoom and the United States Fort Steilacoom are upon the Nisqually claim. There are now about three hundred American settlers having farms in steady process of improvement upon the Nisqually claim. . .".⁴²

The British corporation could scarcely be expected to agree that their rights had expired. As early as February 23, 1855, Andrew Colville, governor, had outlined the company's views in a letter to Sir George Simpson. Said Colville:

The corporate rights of the Hudson's Bay Company are not limited as to time, and their rights reserved by the Treaty of 1846 do not rest upon the license of exclusive trade but were possessed before the date of the first license, as British subjects trading into what was Indian Territory, the sovereignty of which did not belong either to the United States or to Great Britain. . . .

³⁹Wilson's letter is printed in full in the *Pioneer and democrat* (Olympia, Washington), Dec. 2, 1859.

⁴⁰Senate executive document, no. 1, part I, 36 congress, 2 sess., 226.

⁴¹Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, 365-7, 462.

⁴²Journal of the council of the territory of Washington, 1860, and Journal of the house of representatives of the territory of Washington, 1860 (2 vols., Olympia, 1861).

The rights of the Hudson's Bay Company under the treaty can be considered fairly to be neither more or less than . . . what they were in possession of at the date of the Treaty.

These possessions were their farms and buildings and trading posts, their pasture runs, fenced or unfenced, used by their flocks and herds, and the Indian trade, not limited to time as a trade, though limited to time as one exclusive towards other British subjects.

The Treaty can be justly construed only by the words used, and not by what may now be said to have been the private notions or views of one of the contracting parties.⁴³

At the instigation of the company Lord Lyons, British minister to the United States, made several protests (1860) to Lewis Cass, American secretary of state, against the expulsion of the company from American soil.⁴⁴ In the face of diplomatic pressure the Buchanan administration yielded and Secretary Cass informed Lord Lyons, on June 7, 1860, that

The President has learned with regret the occurrence of any circumstances which, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, would seem to impair the faithful execution of any provisions of treaty of 1846. But, without attempting at present, to estimate the extent of the rights to which your Lordship refers, it is sufficient to say that the President does not recognize the right of any subordinate of any service to decide upon questions affecting the diplomatic engagements of this Government . . . orders have been immediately dispatched to the commander of the military division of Oregon, which will prevent effectually any interference with the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, until their rights under the treaty shall be amicably adjusted between the two governments.⁴⁵

It was not truthful to place responsibility upon subordinates, inasmuch as the events complained of transpired by virtue of orders emanating from three cabinet ministries in Washington, D.C.: the surveyor-general of Washington territory acted under instructions from the department of the interior, the commanding general upon orders from the war department, and the territorial governor of Washington upon advices from the department of state. However, the letter allowed the United States to retreat from a position that Great Britain's determined attitude had made untenable, and as a result the Hudson's Bay Company continued to trade on American soil. Chief Factor Dugald MacTavish testified, on April 10, 1866, that Fort Okanagan and Fort Colville were still in the possession of the British company at that time.⁴⁶

⁴³*Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 448-50.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 413-5, containing a letter from Lord Lyons to Secretary Cass, dated May 25, 1860.

⁴⁵*Evidence for the United States*, IV, 280-1.

⁴⁶*Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 206.

The Fort Okanagan mentioned was situated on the north bank of the Columbia, near the site of the old post of Astor's Pacific Fur Company.

Although the tension was eased by the American retreat of June, 1860, the problem remained a troubling one. From Victoria on August 15, 1860, Dallas wrote to Lord Lyons that there were only two alternatives available to the United States government: ". . . by granting us a clear title with definition of our boundaries and trading rights, or by purchasing us out . . . the latter alternative . . . would be the more satisfactory of the two. . . ." ⁴⁷ It was not a new view on the part of the company. As early as May 22, 1846, Sir John Henry Pelly, governor, had urged that the proposed treaty include a provision compelling the United States to purchase the rights of the corporation, but Pelly's letter reached the Earl of Aberdeen, British foreign secretary, too late to be acted upon. However, the question was raised in the United States senate during the discussion there and that body voted against including any mandatory clause. ⁴⁸ During the years following the ratification of the treaty of 1846, the British firms did considerable lobbying in Washington, D.C., in an attempt to sell their rights to the federal government. Successive administrations were favourably disposed but congress was not. The expansionists in that body probably felt that the companies could be eliminated in time without cost to the United States. It was not until July 1, 1863, that a treaty was signed which provided for a joint commission to pass upon the British claims. Each country was to appoint a commissioner. The two commissioners were then to name a third as arbitrator or umpire, or if they were unable to agree upon a choice the umpire should be appointed by the king of Italy. The decisions of the commission were to be final. By the act of June 27, 1864, congress finally executed the treaty and provided funds for the commission's work. ⁴⁹ The commissioners appointed were John Rose for Great Britain and Alexander S. Johnson for the United States; they subsequently selected Benjamin R. Curtis, an American jurist, as umpire. Sir Edmund Walker Head, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, expressed his pleasure at this choice and referred to Judge Curtis as "a gentleman of admitted ability and integrity". He added: "We

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 417-8.

⁴⁸R. C. Clark, *History of the Willamette valley*, I, 349; *Journal of the executive proceedings of the senate of the U.S.A.*, VII (1887), 84 ff.

⁴⁹*House executive document*, no. 54, 38 congress, 1 sess.; *The statutes-at-large of the U.S.A.*, XIII (1866), 195, 651-3.

think it a great advantage, that the contingency of a tedious and uncertain reference to the King of Italy, of any point on which the Commissioners may differ, will thus be avoided."⁵⁰

The British and American joint commission sat for some years, taking testimony in Washington, D.C., Montreal, the Pacific north-west, and elsewhere.⁵¹ The final verdict, reached in 1869 without the aid of the umpire, awarded \$450,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company and \$200,000 to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. With payment of the money in gold coin, in 1870 and 1871,⁵² vanished a long-continued, tedious, and occasionally threatening international dispute. At a time when the important trade had ceased, the American trade was freed from foreign competition in the north-west. The final settlement was more important to international peace than it was to the vanishing fur trade of the United States.

FRANK E. ROSS

⁵⁰*Report of the governor & committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to the shareholders, June 27, 1865* (London, 1865), 2.

⁵¹The reports of the British and American joint commission were published in 14 volumes under the following titles: *Memorials presented to the commissioners under the treaty of July 1, 1863, between Great Britain and the United States, for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies* (Washington, 1865); *Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company; Evidence on the part of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company* (Montreal, 1868); *Memorial and argument on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company* (2 vols., Montreal, 1868-9); *Memorial and argument on the part of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company* (2 vols., Montreal, 1868-9); *Evidence for the United States* (4 vols. and index, Washington, 1867); *Argument in behalf of the United States* (Washington, 1868); *Opinions and award of the commissioners* (Montreal, 1869).

⁵²*The statutes-at-large of the U.S.A.*, XVI (1871), 386, 419; it is interesting to observe that in paying the final instalment in 1871 congress provided "that before payment shall be made of that portion of the above sum awarded to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, all taxes legally assessed upon any property of said company covered by said award, before the same was made, and still unpaid, shall be extinguished by said Puget Sound Agricultural Company, or the amount of said taxes shall be withheld by the government of the United States from the sum hereby appropriated".

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN MILITARY RIVALRIES DURING THE OREGON DISPUTE

THE truculent inaugural address which President Polk delivered in Washington on March 4, 1845, was the beginning of a period of severe strain in the relations of Great Britain and the United States,—one of those crises, not infrequent in the nineteenth century, when war between the two countries was considered a definite political possibility and active measures were taken to prepare for it.¹

The new president's attitude was a shock to the British government. That government, it is true, refused to be stampeded into the belief that Polk meant war.² The colonial secretary regarded his language as "mere braggadocio, to serve momentary party purposes"; but he felt, nevertheless, that the British and Canadian authorities should not shut their eyes to the possibility of hostilities.³ Although as recently as the autumn of 1844 Peel and Stanley, disgusted with the political condition of the colony, had been decidedly dubious about expenditure for the defence of Canada,⁴ they were now prepared to go much further; and in a long confidential dispatch in September, 1845, Stanley outlined a costly scheme of precautions, predicated on the assumption that, as he put it, "whenever we become embroiled with any European power

¹Most of the investigation upon which this article is based was carried out in connection with a study upon which the writer is engaged as a contribution to the survey "The relations of Canada and the United States" which is being published under the auspices of the division of economics and history of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The writer desires to express his gratitude to the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for much kindness and for permission to make use of documents from Hudson's Bay House, London; and to the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa (and more particularly to Dr. J. F. Kenney, acting dominion archivist), for constant aid. Acknowledgment must also be made of courtesies received from the war department in Washington, and from Dr. Thomas P. Martin of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress.

²Actual American military measures all indicated an intention of fighting Mexico, not Great Britain. As early as April, 1844, the central reserve in the west had been moved down from Jefferson barracks, near St. Louis, to the vicinity of the Texas border; and during the summer of 1845 the posts on the Canadian border and the seacoast were almost stripped of troops to permit the concentration in Texas of "more than half of the whole military force of the United States" (*Senate documents*, 28 congress, 2 sess., vol. I; 29 congress, 1 sess., vol. I: Annual reports of the secretary of war, Nov. 30, 1844; Nov. 29, 1845).

³Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 121: Stanley to Metcalfe, secret, April 17, 1845.

⁴Paul Knaplund (ed.), "The armaments on the Great Lakes, 1844" (*American historical review*, XL, April, 1935). Cf. C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British army, 1840-1871* (London, 1936), 24.

... we must be prepared for a War with the United States also".⁵

At a time when the state of the Oregon question was so serious as to drive the British government into large military expenditures, it was inevitable that it should cause grave anxiety to the Hudson's Bay Company, which represented and maintained British authority throughout the whole vast region between Lake Superior and the Pacific, including the disputed territory. The company naturally regarded any extension of American activity in those areas or their vicinity as a threat to its own position, and, just as naturally, sought to influence British policy in the hope of obtaining a counterweight to that threat. Its relationship to British military measures during the Oregon crisis constitutes an interesting episode in Anglo-American relations and in the international history of the west.

I

For years past, the growing interest in the far west manifested by the American people and their government had been closely scrutinized by the company's chief officer in North America, Sir George Simpson, the energetic, shrewd, and resolute governor of Rupert's Land.

Simpson, it will be recalled, had held this position since 1826,⁶ and his views seem to have commanded special respect not only from his company but also from the British government.⁷ Loyalty to his employers, indeed, went hand-in-hand with devotion to the crown, for it was clear that the company's prosperity was bound up with the continued sway of the authority from which it held its charter. In an era when imperialism was waning in England as the star of Cobdenism rose, Simpson was an economic imperialist of the first order. In 1842 we find him urging the company and the government not to consent to any boundary in Oregon which would give the United States any territory north of the Columbia, and at

⁵G, vol. 122, pp. 99-116: Stanley to Metcalfe, military, Sept. 16, 1845. The measures contemplated included fortification at Kingston and Montreal, the enlargement of the locks of the Grenville canal, the provision of vessels suitable for lake operations, and the reorganization of the Canadian militia. On expenditure in 1846-7, see the ordnance estimates, *Parliamentary papers*, 1846-7, XXVI, no. 56.

⁶From 1821 to 1826 he was governor of the Northern and Columbia departments. Much more satisfactory than the inadequate life of Simpson by George Bryce in the "Makers of Canada" series is Frederick Merk's introduction to *Fur trade and empire: George Simpson's journal*. . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1931); and see Douglas MacKay, *The honourable company; A history of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1936), chaps. xii and xiii.

⁷Some light on the relations of Simpson and the company with the government is afforded by Joseph Schafer (ed.), "Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843" (*American historical review*, XIV, Oct., 1908). Simpson was knighted in 1841.

the same time suggesting that Britain might by proper measures forestall American expansion towards California and extend her influence in Hawaii.⁸

In the trend of events at Washington this observer could find plenty of material for apprehension. Since 1837, Senator Linn of Missouri had been hammering at the Oregon question in congress,⁹ and his demand for a chain of forts along the overland route thither had been encouraged by successive secretaries of war.¹⁰ When Linn in 1843 prevailed upon the senate to pass a bill authorizing such a chain and extending the jurisdiction of the territory of Iowa over Oregon up to 54°40', it was an unpleasant portent, even though the house failed to concur.¹¹ The sense of impending crisis was deepened by the large-scale American migration across the plains to Oregon, which began in earnest the same year. In 1844 matters grew worse, when the Democrats nominated and elected Polk to the presidency on the platform "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas"; and at the end of the year documents accompanying President Tyler's last message to congress were a source of further perturbation.

The annual report¹² of William Wilkins (the last of Tyler's four secretaries of war) dealt at length with the area of the upper lakes and the north-west. The one new post established during the year (Fort Wilkins, at Copper Harbor on Lake Superior) he referred to as a unit of a "new cordon", to be completed by two more forts between it and Fort Snelling on the Mississippi; and he further advocated improvements at Fort Gratiot (at the outlet of Lake Huron) and Fort Brady (at Sault Ste. Marie) as well as military roads south of Lake Superior and a canal at the Sault. With respect to Oregon, Wilkins had a very practical suggestion: the creation of a territory of Nebraska in the indisputably American lands between the Missouri and the Rockies, "in connexion with and preliminary to the extension in that direction of our military posts"; and he painted an attractive picture of the military advantage of such action:

A Territorial organization of the country, and a military force placed on the very summit whence flow all the great streams of the North American continent

⁸*Ibid*: Simpson to Pelly, March 10, 1842.

⁹L. B. Shippee, "The federal relations of Oregon, III" (*Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XIX, Dec., 1918, 283ff.).

¹⁰See *Senate document*, no. 231, 26 congress, 1 sess., Feb. 24, 1840, and succeeding annual reports of the secretary of war dated Dec. 1, 1841; Nov. 26, 1842; and Nov. 30, 1843.

¹¹Shippee, "The federal relations of Oregon, III", 296ff.

¹²*Senate documents*, 28 congress, 2 sess., vol. 1, 113ff.: Nov. 30, 1844.

[sic], either into the gulf of Mexico or the Pacific ocean, would no longer leave our title to the Oregon Territory a barren or untenable claim. Its possession and occupancy would thenceforth not depend upon the naval superiority on the Pacific ocean. Troops and supplies from the projected Nebraska Territory would be able to contend for its possession with any force coming from the sea. Natural obstructions in the navigation of the Columbia river would enable settlements gradually to approach the coast, in defiance (if it should come to that) of any navy in the world. . . . In carrying out these views, I would recommend an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for erecting the military posts from the Missouri river to the Rocky mountains.¹³

To the Hudson's Bay Company these projects necessarily appeared alarming in the extreme. Not only did they involve grave danger to the British position in Oregon, but, presaging as they did American military activity in the whole border area from the upper lakes to the Rockies, they meant also that in the event of hostilities the company's posts and communications throughout the west would be imperilled. The prospect of new forts in the upper Mississippi region was especially disturbing, in view of its relative proximity to the company's important establishments in Red river settlement.

II

Tyler's message, reaching England at the end of December, 1844,¹⁴ produced immediate defensive action on the part of the company. Simpson was in England at the time, visiting headquarters;¹⁵ and on new year's day, two days after *The Times* published the message, he wrote to Chief Factor McLoughlin in Oregon, instructing him to move the company's main depot from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia to Fort Victoria, lately established on Vancouver island. Fear for the safety of the company's stores in the territory had been growing in Simpson's mind for some years past. Now that it was clear that Washington contemplated measures designed to facilitate still greater emigration thither (if

¹³It will be observed that Wilkins here betrays the anxiety of the United States government over the existing military situation in Oregon, and its belief that the territory would be at the mercy of the superior British naval force in the Pacific until overland communications could be improved. For a British view of the soundness of Wilkins's scheme, see Joseph Schafer (ed.), "Documents relative to Warre and Vavasour's military reconnoissance [sic] in Oregon, 1845-6" (*Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, X, March, 1909, 21): Sir R. D. Jackson to Lieutenant Warre, May 3, 1845. It is unfortunate that this valuable collection of documents should be marred by so many typographical errors or mistranscriptions.

¹⁴*The Times* (London), Dec. 30, 1844.

¹⁵A map of Simpson's journeys, with dates, "based upon his letters now in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company", in MacKay, *The honourable company*, indicates that he visited England twelve times between 1820 and 1860.

not more violent projects), he was finally driven to order this retreat.¹⁶

Before Simpson returned to his post in America in the spring another blow fell. This was the news of Polk's inaugural address. In it, it will be recalled, the new president took the offensive on the Oregon question. Declaring that the American title to the country was (in the words of his party's platform) "clear and unquestionable", and leaving it to be inferred that he meant the title to the whole territory in dispute, he proceeded to recommend the extension of United States law over Oregon.¹⁷

When the *George Washington* packet arrived in the Mersey on March 26 with the text of this pronouncement,¹⁸ it was universally recognized in England that the crisis of the dispute was at hand. *The Times* bluntly informed the president that "the territory of the Oregon will never be wrested from the British Crown, to which it belongs, but by WAR".¹⁹ The government prepared to make a striking declaration in parliament of its determination to maintain British rights. And the company hastily acted to obtain from the government the means of protecting its interests in America.

On March 29 Simpson composed a memorandum²⁰ stating the needs of the situation as he saw them. It plunged without preamble into what he considered the heart of the matter: "Should the recent proceedings in the Congress of the United States on the Oregon question result in hostilities between the two countries, I think it would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the Company's interests . . . that a small military force should be stationed at Red River." In addition to a regular force, he added, riflemen should be raised among the half-breeds. He suggested that four ships of war, with a large number of marines on board, should be stationed on the Oregon coast; and he urged the importance of getting possession of Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia and erecting a battery upon it. On the boundary question, he still argued for the Columbia line, but significantly added that if it was necessary to accept the 49th parallel as the

¹⁶Frederick Merk, "The Oregon pioneers and the boundary" (*American historical review*, XXIX, July, 1924, 681-99). The idea had been entertained as early as 1839, though the new fort was not begun until 1843. Professor Merk demonstrates that it was this change on the company's part that enabled the British government to abandon its insistence upon the Columbia as a boundary.

¹⁷See Eugene Irving McCormac, *James K. Polk, a political biography* (Berkeley, 1922), 563.

¹⁸*The Times*, March 27, 1845.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, March 28, 1845.

²⁰Schafer, "Documents", 13-6. From Public Record Office, *F. O. America*, vol. 440.

boundary it was essential that the British should have Vancouver island and the free navigation of the Columbia, and that the company's property rights should be guaranteed.²¹

In consequence, presumably, of this memorandum, Simpson was accorded an interview with Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen on April 2;²² and the further consequence was a ministerial decision that it was desirable to take "proper measures for obtaining a general knowledge of the capabilities of the Oregon Territory in a military point of view, in order that we may be enabled to act immediately and with effect in defence of our rights in that quarter, should those rights be infringed by any hostile aggression or encroachment on the part of the United States". The governor-general of Canada, Lord Metcalfe, was instructed to ask Sir Richard Jackson, the commander of the forces there, to nominate one, or two, capable officers who were to proceed to Oregon as private travellers and undertake the necessary investigations.²³

The Cunarder *Caledonia* sailed from Liverpool on April 5, a day late. She had been detained by government order so that she might carry to America an account of the Oregon debate in parliament the previous night, in which government and opposition leaders alike had unanimously declared that the crown's rights must be defended.²⁴ She carried also the orders for Metcalfe; and, finally, she carried Simpson and his family. Sir George on landing paid a hurried and unostentatious visit²⁵ to Mr. Pakenham, the British minister at Washington, and delivered to him new instructions from Aberdeen.²⁶ Thereafter he proceeded to his own headquarters in Canada, pausing in New York, however, to arrange for the dissemination of some timely British propaganda on the boundary question.²⁷

²¹These are, of course, the terms written into the final settlement fifteen months later.

²²Schafer, "Documents", 35-7: Simpson to Metcalfe, July 9, 1845. This interview was not noticed by *The Times* in its daily list of ministerial appointments.

²³*Ibid.*, 16-8: Addington (foreign office) to Stephen (colonial office), April 3, 1845, confidential; Stanley to Metcalfe, April 4, 1845, secret.

²⁴*The Times*, April 5, 1845.

²⁵"It is desirable that, my visit to Washington should not be known, & my non-appearance in Montreal may be ascribed to my proceeding to New York on business . . ." (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Hudson's Bay House, London, D, 4/66, p. 218: Simpson to Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson from Boston, April 22, 1845). This and later extracts from the same source are published by kind permission of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. Transcripts of the documents used are deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.

²⁶*Selections from the correspondence of George Earl of Aberdeen, K.G., K.T. 1845* (privately printed, 1885), 104-6: Aberdeen to Pakenham, April 2, 1845. H.B.C. Archives, D, 4/67, pp. 13-5: Simpson to Pelly, May 4, 1845.

²⁷" . . . I . . . made arrangements with Dr. [John S.] Bartlett of the Albion news-

On arriving in Montreal, Sir George reported to Metcalfe, and the governor-general and the commander of the forces lost no time in carrying out the instructions just received from the colonial office. Jackson nominated for the Oregon mission his own A.D.C., Lieutenant Henry J. Warre, of the 14th Regiment, and Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers. These officers were to travel west with Simpson, and were ordered to govern themselves by his advice and instructions.²⁸ They soon found that travelling with the governor was a rather breath-taking pursuit. He left Lachine on May 5, and took his charges "by canoe by the most direct route"—that by the Ottawa river. The party reached Red river settlement on June 5,²⁹ precisely two months after Simpson had sailed from Liverpool, and precisely one month from their embarkation at Lachine.

In the course of the journey Sir George had prepared for the officers a confidential memorandum,³⁰ elaborating his ideas on the defence of the Hudson's Bay territories. He suggested the establishment of two military posts to counterbalance the American cordon—one at Point Meuron, on the Kaministiquia river nine miles above Fort William, and one at Red river settlement, where two hundred regulars, he thought, might form the nucleus of a force of "several thousand" Indians and half-breeds. In Oregon, he directed the officers' attention to Cape Disappointment, and informed them that he had ordered Chief Factor Ogden, who was to conduct them across the mountains, to acquire the cape "ostensibly with a view of forming a trading post and 'Pilots' Lookout' thereon".

After making a report on Red river settlement and the route by which they had travelled thither,³¹ Warre and Vavasour set out

paper, that Falconer's pamphlet on the Oregon Question should be published in some of the American journals of most extensive circulation" (*ibid.*: Simpson to Pelly, May 4). Simpson's "rapid visit" to New York (but not the one to Washington) was noticed in *The Albion*, April 26, 1845. Thomas Falconer's pamphlet, *The Oregon question; or, a statement of the British claims to the Oregon territory, in opposition to the pretensions of the government of the United States of America*, had been published in London in March. *The Albion* itself published the pamphlet in its issue of May 3.

²⁸H.B.C. Archives, D, 4/67, pp. 13-5: Simpson to Pelly, May 4. The various instructions for Warre and Vavasour are in Schafer, "Documents", 19-24.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 35-7: Simpson to Metcalfe, July 9, 1845. The final report of Warre and Vavasour, dated June 16, 1846, states that they did not reach Fort Garry until June 7 (*F.O.* 5, vol. 457, pp. 5-26). Only part of this report is published by Schafer. The whole of vol. 457 is Warre and Vavasour material. There are photostats of this collection both in the Public Archives of Canada and in the Library of Congress, in the latter case incomplete.

³⁰Dated "Lac a la Pluie", May 30, 1845 (Schafer, "Documents", 25-31).

³¹*F.O.* 5, vol. 457, pp. 58-62: June 10, 1845. Not published by Schafer, but in part by H. S. Patterson in "54°40' or fight" (*Beaver*, June, 1936).

for Fort Vancouver, which they reached early in the autumn.³² They remained in Oregon until the spring. Their reports³³ revealed that they did not share the easy optimism which Simpson had expressed concerning the possibility of sending troops overland to Oregon from Canada. Their implied belief that British forces in Oregon would be dependent upon the sea led them, however, to concur in his opinion of the importance of Cape Disappointment. The cape proved to be in the possession of an American citizen; but Ogden, urged on by the officers, took the responsibility of purchasing it for the company for \$1,000.³⁴ Vavasour submitted to the commanding royal engineer in Canada a fairly detailed scheme for the erection of batteries here, as well as at other important points in the territory.³⁵

Simpson, in the meantime, had not been idle. After seeing Warre and Vavasour off from Fort Garry, he wrote³⁶ to Sir John Pelly, the governor of the company, urging him to approach the home government with a view to obtaining the two garrisons which he had suggested, reminding him of the cordon of posts being formed "along the whole United States frontier", and adding that he had heard that another post was to be established at Pembina, "50 to 60 miles only from Red River Settlement". On his return to Montreal, the discovery that Metcalfe shared his views encouraged him to report to Pelly, "I am of opinion that this would be the proper time to press the Government on the subject, & if that be done, I have little doubt that, this most desirable object may be attained next summer. . .".³⁷

III

Within a few weeks, Simpson received from Red river intelligence which led him to redouble his efforts to obtain a garrison for the settlement: for it told of the appearance of American troops near the international boundary, and of contact between them and the half-breeds living under the company's rule.

³²As the essentials of this episode have already been published, it is only hastily sketched here.

³³Schafer, "Documents", 39ff.: Preliminary report, Oct. 26, 1845. *Ibid.*, 65ff.: Final report, June 16, 1846.

³⁴*F.O. 5*, vol. 457, pp. 138-42: Correspondence. Not published by Schafer, but in "Secret mission of Warre and Vavasour" (*Washington historical quarterly*, III, April, 1912, 131-53).

³⁵*F.O. 5*, vol. 457, pp. 37-49: Vavasour to Holloway, March 1, 1846. Published in part by Schafer, "Documents", 84-94.

³⁶H.B.C. Archives, *Simpson outward correspondence book*, 1845-6, 193: From Michipicoten, July 8, 1845.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 219: Simpson to Pelly, Aug. 1, 1845. The interview with Metcalfe took place on the same date.

The half-breeds' prairie buffalo-hunt, conducted *en masse* under rude but definite discipline, was a famous institution at Red river.³⁸ It was the hunters' custom to pay no attention to imaginary lines, but to hunt (as a company official once explained) "wherever they may fall in with the Buffalo, whether on British or American Territory".³⁹ As American authority became more strongly established in Minnesota, their incursions across the 49th parallel began to attract the unfavourable attention of territorial officers. As early as 1842, the secretary of war, moved by complaints from the department of Indian affairs, ordered dragoons into the Sioux territory to warn the half-breeds off; the order, however, was immediately countermanded.⁴⁰ In 1844 the complaints were renewed; it was reported that the half-breeds had had collisions with the Sioux, and the commissioner of Indian affairs urged the government to interfere before large-scale hostilities broke out.⁴¹

In consequence, during the summer of 1845, while Warre and Vavasour were riding across the plains, Captain E. V. Sumner was marching into the half-breeds' hunting-grounds in what is now North Dakota with two companies of the 1st United States Dragoons from Fort Atkinson and Fort Des Moines. Near Devil's lake he met the hunters, some 180 strong, and warned them that their inroads must cease. Perplexed by this impingement of international rivalries upon their ancient manner of life, they asked how they would be received "if they should move across the line". "I told them at once", he reported, "that I could give them no answer to that question, for I thought it would be an improper interference with the rights of their government for me to hold out any inducement for them to secede in a body from their allegiance." When they begged for time to change their habits, he suggested that they write to Washington asking a year or two as a favour. Sumner added to his report the remark that there was now established on the border at Pembina a branch of the American Fur Company,⁴² with which some of the half-breeds were

³⁸On the hunt and the literature concerning it, see F. G. Roe, "The Red river hunt" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, ser. 3, XXIX, 1935, sec. 2, 171-218). Two hunts, each divided into two parties, were made annually, in the early summer and the autumn.

³⁹Public Archives of Canada, *Series C*, vol. 364, p. 15: Extract of letter from John Swanston, Oct. 6, 1856.

⁴⁰War department, Washington, adjutant general's office, old records division, military book no. 24 [secretary of war's letter-books], p. 336: Spencer to commanding general, March 7, 1842, and marginal note.

⁴¹*Senate documents*, 28 congress, 2 sess., vol. I, no. 1, 316, 416-20, 422-3.

⁴²Although the American Fur Company had been obliged to "assign" in 1842, and its business had been taken over in the following year by Pierre Chouteau, jr., and Company of St. Louis, the old name continued in popular use (William Watts Folwell, *A history of Minnesota*, I, Saint Paul, 1921, 162, 240 n.).

"becoming connected in trade", and that he had understood, "indirectly", that many of them proposed to move across the border that fall. "There seemed", he wrote, "to be a strong disposition among them to become citizens of the United States; and I am much inclined to believe that many of them will become so, within a few years, without receiving any encouragement from our government."⁴³

The news of this encounter could not fail to alarm the authorities at Red river. On August 12 Chief Factor Alexander Christie, senior, wrote thence to Simpson reporting the matter.⁴⁴ The American commanding officer, according to his account, had answered the half-breeds' protests by saying that "he could see no alternative, except to form themselves into a Settlement within the American boundary, either *near Pembina*, or at Some other more eligible Situation". Christie added: "At present, the Subject appears to engross the entire attention of the Halfbreeds, and no doubt during the whole of next Winter, we shall have many versions of the Same subject, and very unfortunately no great good feeling, will on these occasions, be evinced towards the Company."

At this moment, indeed, the domestic situation at Red river was perhaps the company's greatest single source of anxiety. Its trade monopoly had been maintained without great difficulty, and civil order preserved without the presence of any strong armed force, so long as the settlement had remained isolated in the middle of the continent. This isolation was now being broken down by the gradual advance of American settlement and government into the country south of the 49th parallel. As far back as 1819, the establishment of Fort Snelling at the junction of the Minnesota and the Mississippi had suggested what might be expected, and now the appearance of the blue-coated dragoons so much further north was indicative of the steadily increasing strength of hostile influences which henceforth would be constantly at work undermining the company's prestige and encouraging discontented elements in the population of its territories. To keep these elements in subjection was now a primary task for the corporation; and it was clear that the object could best be compassed by enlisting the aid of the forces of the imperial government. Thus two motives led the company to employ all its influence at Whitehall to obtain troops for Red river: the ostensible one (which was, indeed, gen-

⁴³*Senate documents*, 29 congress, 1 sess., vol. I, no. 1, 217: Sumner's report, Aug. 23, 1845.

⁴⁴H.B.C. Archives; transcript in Public Archives of Canada.

uine enough, as the facts already rehearsed indicate), the apprehension of American attack; and the private and unadvertised one, the apprehension of resistance to the company's authority occurring among its own people.⁴⁵

From the point of view of this latter interest, the Oregon flurry represented an opportunity too good to be allowed to pass; and Simpson pointed this out very forcibly to Pelly in a private letter written from Lachine in the autumn:

The presence of military establishments in the Interior can be productive of little benefit to us at any other point than Red River Settlement, & there one is absolutely necessary to the existence of the Fur trade, not in reference to any difficulties with the United States only, but as a means of protection against the inhabitants of the Settlement, as with the feeling at present existing on [*sic* in transcript] the minds of the half-breeds, it will be quite impossible to protect the trade or enforce our laws without the presence of military at that point. This state of things would not, of course, influence the Government in affording the required support; but I draw your attention privately to it, in order to show the necessity of urging the formation of a military post at Red River, ostensibly with a view of securing to Great Britain that influence over her own subjects, both whites & Indians, which has long been upon the wane, consequent upon the proximity of the American garrisons at St Peters [Fort Snelling] & other points along the frontier. . . . if it be the desire of Government to establish a post at Red River next summer, it is absolutely necessary that, I should have instructions before the departure of the winter express, to make the necessary arrangements for the conveyance of the troops from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement:—and, as I consider the salvation of the Hon. Company's trade to depend on the early formation of the post, I think there is not a moment to be lost in preparing the Government upon the subject while the excitement on the Oregon question exists, as if that once pass away, I feel assured the Government will not afford the protection we require at Red River.⁴⁶

A few days later, in an official communication to the company,⁴⁷ Simpson reported the half-breeds' encounter with Sumner, calling particular attention to the latter's conciliatory tone, which led him to the conclusion that the American government was seeking an influence over these people which would facilitate the conquest of the company's settlements in the event of war; and he expressed the opinion that Sumner had, in fact, made a considerable impression. To make matters worse, he added, a petition was circulating at Red river praying the American congress to "assist and protect"

⁴⁵This was not the first attempt of the company to obtain a garrison for Red river settlement. For much earlier instances, see Historical manuscripts commission, *Report on the manuscripts of Earl Bathurst* (London, 1923), 231, Selkirk to Bathurst, April 21, 1813; Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 136 A, p. 69, Bathurst to Drummond, March 18, 1815; and *ibid.*, vol. 133, pp. 11-3, Drummond to Bathurst, Aug. 16, 1815.

⁴⁶*Simpson outward correspondence book*, 1845-6, 385-8: Oct. 24, 1845. Note the abandonment of the idea of a post on the Kaministikwia.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 397-9: Oct. 28, 1845.

the formation of a settlement at Pembina. This had been drawn up by one John McLaughlin, a recent arrival from St. Louis, whom Simpson suspected of being "employed by some of the United States authorities as a secret emissary among our halfbreed Settlers & the neighbouring Indians, with a view of sowing the seeds of disaffection".⁴⁸

Simpson drew the natural and inevitable moral: "The presence of a British Military force at Red River . . . would, in my opinion, effect an immediate change in the feelings and sentiments not only of the half-caste population but of the Indian tribes on both sides of the Boundary line, and would secure for Great Britain a very active & efficient Guerilla force, which, in the event of hostilities with the United States, might be employed to harass and lay waste the American settlements contiguous to the frontier." His anxiety was soon increased by the appearance in Montreal of the man McLaughlin, who, *en route* to Washington with his petition, paused there to demand settlement by the company of a disputed freight account, and, when this failed, to threaten Simpson with the impending destruction of the corporation's "vast privileges". On November 6, Simpson approached the new commander of the forces, Lord Cathcart (who was shortly to assume the civil administration also) on the garrison question; and five days later he wrote once more to the company, declaring, "I consider the peace of the Settlement and the exclusive rights of the Company in very great danger".⁴⁹

These representations moved Hudson's Bay House to determined action. Simpson's private letter led Pelly to forward to Lord Aberdeen at the foreign office a copy of the official despatch on the Sumner episode. When the letter of November 11 arrived, and there was still no word from Aberdeen, Pelly devoted two days to interviews at the foreign and colonial offices and the horse guards, and "pressed the subject so much on the consideration of

⁴⁸This may be the "petition to our government, requesting permission to continue their hunting incursions on our territory", which was referred to the new commissioner of Indian affairs at Washington (W. Medill), who gave no countenance to it: see his annual report of Nov. 24, 1845, in *Senate documents*, 29 congress, 1 sess., vol. 1, no. 1, 454. McLaughlin had boasted on November 15 of being the bearer of "a petition to Washington from 1250 souls Halfbreeds & Canadians praying to be admitted citizens of the U.S. & allowed to reside at Pembina" (H.B.C. Archives, D, 5/15: McLaughlin to Simpson, Lachine, Nov. 5, 1845). I am informed that no reference has been found at Hudson's Bay House to any petition other than McLaughlin's having circulated at Red river in 1845. But it is possible that the half-breeds actually composed a petition during their meeting with Sumner and forwarded it by him.

⁴⁹H.B.C. Archives, *London inward correspondence from Sir George Simpson*, 1845: Simpson to H.B.C., London, from Lachine, Nov. 11, 1845. McLaughlin to Simpson, Nov. 5, 1845. See note 48 *supra*.

Government" that he soon received an intimation that Cathcart was being instructed to "put himself in communication" with Simpson on the question of a garrison.⁵⁰

Polk's first annual message, sent to congress on December 2, led Simpson to renew his solicitations to Cathcart. On December 22 he called upon him yet again, and found him considering the instructions just mentioned. After consultation, the administrator "recommended" to Simpson that he should take preliminary steps towards preparing transport for moving a body of troops westward; and Sir George, much pleased with the prospect, urged the company to press the home government for a final and favourable decision.⁵¹

By March of 1846 the cabinet had decided to send the troops, and had so informed the commander in chief (the Duke of Wellington).⁵² On April 1 Gladstone, the new colonial secretary, wrote Pelly that the government, "as at present advised", thought of sending a force to Fort Garry.⁵³ A fortnight later, however, he wrote again to inform them that "Her Majesty's Government intend to consider further the expediency of that arrangement before they adopt any measure for carrying it into execution".⁵⁴ The duke, apparently, had recommended that before any further commitments were made officers should be sent to Red river to report on the condition of the defensive works there.⁵⁵

Pelly, deeply dismayed, immediately set about procuring a reversal of this decision. He wrote to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the duke's military secretary, requesting an interview and enclosing a memorandum⁵⁶ which spoke particularly of the half-breeds' encounter with the American troops:

The appearance of this detachment tho' in itself by no means formidable had the effect of very much increasing the influence of some persons who had come to the Red River Country from St. Peters and St Louis in the United States whose object seems to have been to detach the Half-breed population from their allegiance to the British Crown.

The presence of a Detachment however small of Her Majesty's Troops would put a stop to such intrigues by convincing the people in the Country that Her

⁵⁰*Ibid.*: Pelly to Simpson, Dec. 3, 1845.

⁵¹*Ibid.*: Simpson to H.B.C., Dec. 24, 1845.

⁵²G, vol. 123, p. 336: Gladstone to Cathcart, military, March 3, 1846.

⁵³H.B.C. Archives, *Correspondence with H.M. government folder*, 1846.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*: Gladstone to Pelly, April 17, 1846.

⁵⁵Gladstone to Pelly, private, April 17, 1846 (information from Hudson's Bay House).

⁵⁶H.B.C. Archives, A, 8/3, *Correspondence with H.M. government*, 50-1: dated April 22, 1846.

Majesty's Government are determined to protect British interests, and to maintain the inviolability of the British Territory.

The whole year must be lost, if the decision of Her Majesty's Government, as to the sending Troops is to depend upon the report of Officers now to be sent out, and during that time it is to be feared that the Emissaries from the South side of the Boundary line might succeed in permanently detaching these people from their allegiance.

The company, Pelly explained, believed that its forts at Red river were strong enough to enable regular troops to resist "any force with small arms", and that the likelihood of the United States being able to bring up cannon was small.

Pelly also communicated with Gladstone, urging these points, undertaking on behalf of the company to defray the expense of rendering the forts defensible, and claiming the protection of the imperial government.⁵⁷ His importunities were successful. The colonial office, it is true, treated him to a formidable paragraph of Gladstonian dialectic, demurring to the doctrine that "a Chartered Proprietary Company" had the same claims to protection as a crown colony; but it ended with the observation that it was now "happily unnecessary" to press the point, as the government had decided to accept the company's offer, and "to forward a detachment to Fort Garry during the present season".⁵⁸

IV

The arrangements for the transport of the troops now proceeded. It was decided to depart from Simpson's scheme, which had contemplated moving them from Canada by way of Lake Superior and the portage route beyond.⁵⁹ Warre and Vavasour had reported unfavourably upon this plan, and the war office resolved to send a force from Ireland—by ship to York Factory on Hudson bay, and thence in boats over the river-route used by the company for bringing in goods from England.⁶⁰ Not until 1870, when Wolseley took twelve hundred men over it, was the Lake Superior route to become a highway for her majesty's forces.

The force now sent was as self-contained as it was possible to make it. It consisted⁶¹ of three hundred and forty-six all ranks, of whom two officers and twenty-six other ranks belonged to the

⁵⁷G, vol. 124, p. 329: Pelly to Gladstone, April 24, 1846, copy.

⁵⁸H.B.C. Archives, A, 8/3, *Correspondence with H.M. government*, 55-6: Lyttelton to Pelly, April 28, 1848. Copy in G, vol. 124, p. 323.

⁵⁹Memorandum for Warre and Vavasour, May 30, 1845. See note 30 *supra*.

⁶⁰C, vol. 831, p. 59: Fitzroy Somerset to Cathcart, May 29, 1846, copy.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 62: Disembarkation return.

Royal Artillery and one sergeant and eleven other ranks to the Royal Sappers and Miners. The remainder, except for a representative apiece from the ordnance, the commissariat, and the treasury, were all of the 6th Foot, and Major J. Crofton of that regiment commanded the whole force. Two engineer officers had been ordered to Fort Garry direct from Canada to make preparations for strengthening the works.⁶²

The troops sailed from Cork on June 26, 1846, in the transports *Blenheim* and *Crocodile*, which arrived off Fort York on August 8 and 13 respectively. Between the 17th and 24th, Crofton saw the whole detachment transferred from the ships to York boats and off up the Hayes river. Following them, he "overtook the Boat Brigades and saw them successively pass the difficult Portages", and, pushing on, "travelling 18 out of the 24 hours", reached Upper Fort Garry on the night of September 10. The speed of the journey is sufficiently explained by his remark that he was "in company with Sir G. Simpson".⁶³

By this time, of course, all danger of war had passed away. Eleven days before the force sailed from Cork, the Oregon treaty had been signed in Washington. War had broken out between the United States and Mexico in May, and for two years to come the American army had no thought for the northern border. Had Crofton's men been delayed in sailing, their orders might well have been countermanded; as it was, the imperial government was soon considering recalling them from their distant prairie post. On June 4, 1847, orders were sent for the return of the whole force to the United Kingdom;⁶⁴ though the difficulty of arranging transport from York Factory prevented their execution until the summer of 1848. The troops thus spent practically two years at Red river.

Their departure seems to have been widely regretted by the inhabitants, for their presence had brightened the life of the colony while also increasing the circulation of money and opening up a new market for local produce. Even the Indians had pleasant memories of them; more than twenty-five years later, those memories were still strong enough to make it worth while to dress the new North-West Mounted Police in army scarlet.⁶⁵ And the com-

⁶²G, vol. 124, p. 316: Gladstone to Cathcart, military, May 4, 1846.

⁶³C, vol. 831, p. 64: Crofton to D.Q.M.G., Montreal, Sept. 13, 1846.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 72, 69: Wellington to O.C. troops, Fort Garry, June 4, 1847; Fitzroy Somerset to same, same date; copies.

⁶⁵The Indians, puzzled by the green uniforms of a Canadian rifle battalion at Fort Garry, said, "Our old brothers who formerly lived there wore red coats" (*Canada, Sessional papers*, 1873, no. 9, p. cxi: Report of Colonel Robertson-Ross on the north-west).

pany's difficulties with the Red river population, so strong an incentive to Simpson in seeking a garrison, vanished during the time that the troops remained at Fort Garry. "From the moment they arrived", wrote Alexander Ross a decade later, "the high tone of lawless defiance and internal disaffection raised by our own people against the laws and the authorities of the place, were [*sic*] reduced to silence. All those disaffected to the existing order of things, and to the principles of subordination, immediately sneaked across the boundary line to the land of freedom, and became *pro tempore* subjects of the United States."⁶⁶

The home government, in withdrawing the detachment, did not propose to leave the settlement entirely defenceless. They sent out to replace it a number of "enrolled pensioners" who were to be given grants of land on condition of holding themselves in readiness for service in time of need. But these men proved, in Ross's opinion, a worse menace to public order than the half-breeds themselves; the regulars' departure was "the signal for the recommencement of our troubles",⁶⁷ and in 1849 there took place a decidedly serious defiance of the company's authority.⁶⁸

One interesting circumstance is the fact that the Red river half-breeds went on hunting on United States territory. The head of the St. Peter's Indian agency reported to Washington in 1846 that his information was that, in spite of Sumner's warning, "a larger number of them than usual went last spring into the Sioux country",⁶⁹ and they continued to disregard the 49th parallel in succeeding years. In 1847 the agent further asserted that Hudson's Bay police had seized on American soil two deserters from the Fort Garry garrison. He went on to complain of the weakness of the American forces in the district, resulting from the Mexican emergency; at Fort Snelling there was "but one company of infantry to guard a frontier of hundreds of miles".⁷⁰

⁶⁶Alexander Ross, *The Red river settlement: Its rise, progress, and present state* . . . (London, 1856), 364-5.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 365-6. On the relation of the garrison and its withdrawal to the question of public order at Red river, see Chester Martin in *Canada and its provinces* (Toronto, 1914-7), XIX, 55-6.

⁶⁸For the episode of the Sayer trial, see Ross, *The Red river settlement*, 372ff. Cf. Begg, *History of the north-west*, I, 271-3, and Martin, in *Canada and its provinces*, XIX, 56-7.

⁶⁹*Senate documents*, 29 congress, 2 sess., vol. I, no. 1, 245-7: Report of Sept. 1, 1846.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 30 congress, 1 sess., vol. I, no. 1, 853-7: Report of Sept. 15, 1847. The garrison of Fort Des Moines was withdrawn in March, 1846; the regulars at Fort Atkinson were replaced by a company of Iowa volunteers; the withdrawal of one company from Fort Snelling in January, 1847, reduced its garrison to 92 men: see *Senate executive documents*, 29 congress, 2 sess., vol. I, no. 4, 68 d, Distribution tables; and *ibid.*, 30 congress, 1 sess., vol. II, no. 8, 96 d, Annual reports of secretary of war, 1846 and 1847.

It was doubtless such complaints as this, combined with the presence of the British troops at Red river from 1846 to 1848, that caused increased American military activity on the upper Mississippi as soon as peace came in Mexico. Early in 1849, Fort Snelling, which for thirty years had been the most northerly American outpost, lost that distinction when Fort Gaines (afterwards Fort Ripley) was established a hundred miles further up the river; and the war department, considering the expediency of another post still closer to the border, ordered a reconnaissance in that direction, believing that "the sending of a Company of Dragoons to the Northwestern frontier . . . where the influences of the British government are more felt than our own, would be attended with beneficial results".⁷¹ With one hundred and three men at Fort Gaines, and one hundred and seventy-six now at Fort Snelling, the American position was much stronger.

The half-breed problem, however, was not yet solved.⁷² Indeed, the whole episode of 1845-6 was re-enacted during 1856-7. American troops marched to the vicinity of the border and issued a warning to British subjects against hunting on the American side; the Hudson's Bay Company took alarm, and demanded imperial protection; and again British troops were despatched to Fort Garry. From 1857 to 1861, a detachment of the Royal Canadian Rifles garrisoned Red river settlement; then, like the 6th before them, they were withdrawn, and the company was left to its own devices in the face of its growing troubles.⁷³

V

These minor concomitants of the great dispute over the Oregon country serve to emphasize the error of interpreting the Anglo-American and Canadian-American relations of the mid-nineteenth century merely in the spirit suggested by the pacific tone which has characterized those relations during the twentieth and particularly

⁷¹Adjutant general's office, old records division, "Official reports to the secretary of war", IV, 168-9, and addendum of April 9, 173: Jones (adjutant general) to Crawford (secretary of war), April 4, 1849. *Senate documents*, 31 congress, 1 sess., vol. I, part 1, no. 1, 179ff: Report of adjutant general, Nov. 28, 1849. Fort Gaines's location was determined by the position of a new Winnebago reservation (George C. Tanner, "History of Fort Ripley, 1849 to 1859 . . ." in *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, X, part 1, 181).

⁷²For a complaint of 1854, see *Senate documents*, 33 congress, 2 sess., vol. I, no. 1, 259: From governor of Minnesota, in Report of commissioner of Indian affairs.

⁷³*Senate documents*, 35 congress, 2 sess., vol. II, no. 1, 426ff.; C, vol. 364, and G, vol. 153, numerous documents. By this period, Canadian as well as American agitation at Red river was alarming the company, nor did it conceal its desire for military aid to the civil power (C, vol. 364, pp. 5-9, John Shepherd to Clarendon, Nov. 4, 1856, copy; and G, vol. 153, pp. 291ff., to Labouchère, March 16, 1857, copy).

since the Great War. The celebrated "unfortified frontier" and (more important) the growing mutual confidence which produced it, are definitely post-Civil War phenomena: the great turning-point seems to be the treaty of Washington of 1871. When we venture into more remote periods we immediately find ourselves in an atmosphere in which an Anglo-American conflict, while not as a rule perhaps particularly probable, is always most decidedly possible. After all, it is worth recalling, the men who signed the Oregon treaty in 1846 may well have remembered hearing, as youngsters, the news of the *Shannon's* capture of the *Chesapeake*, or of Jackson's triumph at New Orleans; and a warlike tradition dies hard. These obscure movements of British redcoats and United States dragoons on the edge of the great prairies combine with other elements—the British officers unostentatiously reconnoitring the military possibilities of Oregon, the rival ships of war prowling along the wooded headlands of the Pacific coast,⁷⁴ the quiet preparations for the launching of naval flotillas on the Great Lakes, the clink of masons' hammers from fortifications along the border,—to remind us how unpleasant were the possibilities that lurked behind the aggressive tone of Mr. Polk and the high demeanour of the lords and commons.

These episodes in the valleys of the upper Mississippi and the Red river of the north have also, however, an interest of their own. They are an introductory chapter in the fascinating story of how two peoples expanded side by side across the empty spaces of western North America. That expansion was not entirely a peaceful process; it was carried out without war (save at the expense of the original inhabitants) but not without rumours of war; and at every stage the two nations found themselves and their measures affected by the doings of their neighbours. Canada especially, in this as in other phases of her history, was conscious of persistent pressure of various sorts from the United States.

This particular phase presents the beginning of that period of transition during which American pressure hastened the decline of the territorial authority which the Hudson's Bay Company had exercised since 1670. For generations the great corporation had

⁷⁴On naval activity in Oregon waters, see, in addition to Schafer's "Documents", Leslie M. Scott (ed.), "Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46" (*Oregon historical quarterly*, XXIX, March, 1928, 51-71); Katharine B. Judson (ed.), "John McLoughlin's last letter to the Hudson's Bay Company" (*American historical review*, XXI, Oct., 1915, 104-34); *House miscellaneous documents*, 30 congress, 1 sess., no. 29, Report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison on Oregon . . .; and F. V. Longstaff, "Notes on the early history of the Pacific station and the inception of the Esquimalt royal naval establishment" (*Canadian defence quarterly*, III, April, 1926, 309-18).

conducted trade and a modicum of government in its tremendous preserves with, on the whole, conspicuous success. It had maintained satisfactory relations with the Indians and the growing half-breed population, and had done so almost entirely without the aid of armed force. But the secret of this success had been isolation: the fact that the people of its territories were dependent upon the goodwill of the company for their livelihood and for the European goods, brought in from the shores of the bay, which were essential to comfort and even to existence. Now, new doorways were opening to the southward. American garrisons were multiplying on the upper Mississippi; moreover, population was following the flag, and political life was developing in Minnesota. The appearance of American fur-traders on the border, and the activity of McLaughlin in Red river settlement itself, were indications of what these new conditions meant for the company. An especially disturbing portent was Sumner's column of dragoons, and the impression which this show of power produced in the minds of the company's people. Clearly, the Hudson's Bay monopoly was in great and increasing peril; and to offset the dangerous influences crowding in from the south, the company sought to enlist the aid of the imperial government.

For two brief periods (1846-8 and 1857-61) it succeeded in obtaining for Red river a garrison of British troops, and during those periods it had little trouble in maintaining its authority. But in an age when imperialism was scarcely regarded as sound policy, Whitehall was dubious about spending money on maintaining forces in a community which was not even a crown colony; and British military men (much disposed to be timid on such questions)⁷⁵ disliked having a small detachment islanded in the middle of North America remote from support. "The extreme difficulty of access is one of the great objections to endeavouring to keep Troops at the Red River", wrote a colonial office official while discussing routes for the withdrawal of the Royal Canadian Rifles, "and it is not at present contemplated to replace the detachment by another party."⁷⁶

It seems fairly clear that the lack of armed force at Red river was an important factor in the final decline of the company's authority during the years preceding the sale of its territorial

⁷⁵Cf., e.g., the advice of the commission on the defence of Canada in 1825, against garrisoning remote points (*Copy of a report to his grace the Duke of Wellington . . . relative to his majesty's North American provinces*, lithographed copy in Toronto Reference Library, 63ff.); and see Stacey, *Canada and the British army*, 155, 219-21.

⁷⁶C, vol. 364, pp. 253-5: Elliot to war office, Sept. 20, 1860.

rights to Canada in 1869;⁷⁷ and it is certain that this lack decisively contributed to the disorders and difficulties which ensued before Canadian authority was established in Manitoba. It would have been cheaper to have kept a garrison of a hundred or a hundred and fifty soldiers at Fort Garry from 1861 to 1869 than it was to send an expedition of twelve hundred through the wilderness in 1870 for the purpose of evicting Louis Riel and his provisional government. As it was, Wolseley's famous march was the necessary preliminary to the organization of the province of Manitoba; and with the disappearance of the government of the great company, and the firm establishment of that of the dominion on a basis of adequate military power,⁷⁸ the international history of the west enters a new phase.

C. P. STACEY

⁷⁷*Cf.* the comments of J. J. Hargrave in his *Red river* (Montreal, 1871), 94-5.

⁷⁸From 1870, the dominion maintained a garrison at Fort Garry; the organization of the North-West Mounted Police began in 1873, and the force took up its posts in the Indian territories in 1874. On unrest at Red river during the last years of company rule, see G. F. G. Stanley, *The birth of western Canada* (London, 1936), chap. iii.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S LITERARY ASSISTANT

IN the middle of December, 1801,¹ *Voyages from Montreal on the river St. Laurence through the continent of North America to the frozen and Pacific oceans in the years 1789 and 1793 . . .* by Alexander Mackenzie, Esquire, was published in London and Edinburgh. The indomitable Scotsman's account of his explorations achieved instant popularity. It is not the purpose of this note to list the editions, but even a cursory search reveals a second edition in England in 1802, an American edition in Philadelphia in 1802, and another in New York the next year. The contemporary magazines aided the popularity of the book by giving it favourable reviews and by printing long summaries and quotations.

But it seems not to have occurred to the editors and reviewers of that day to wonder how a man whose formal education had ended when he was quite young, and who had spent years in a new country living a life hardly likely to improve his writing, could so nearly approach the exacting literary standards of 1800. One or two of the reviewers, indeed, thought some comment necessary. The *Monthly review* critic mentioned "the numerous marks of inelegance and incorrectness which characterize the author's style", but added that "he modestly disclaims all pretensions to pre-eminence 'in the character of an author'".² The *Edinburgh review* critic was of like opinion: "Mr. Mackenzie makes no pretensions to literary attainments; and the merit of this work is certainly not to be estimated by the elegance of its composition. His style is, in general, perspicuous; and we willingly pass over its deficiencies in harmony or correctness."³

The biographers of Mackenzie have occasionally mentioned his literary style, some with praise and some with apology; but they, too, have only guessed at the answer. The Reverend George Bryce has this to say: "We have seen that in the year when Mackenzie returned from the Pacific coast expedition he sought to prepare the materials for giving to the world an account of his two great voyages. His cousin, Roderick McKenzie, had the pen

¹Advertised as "this day published" in the *General evening post*, Dec. 15-7, 1801.

²*Monthly review*, June, 1802, 229n. This magazine published a review and summary in two parts: June, 1802, 225-37, and Aug. 1802, 337-47.

³*Edinburgh review*, Oct., 1802, 158. For complete review, cf. 141-58.

of a ready writer, and it is generally believed that he gave him help in preparing his journal. Others attach little importance to this suggestion, inasmuch as the journal, being very much in the nature of a log, shows little literary merit."⁴ Professor Walter N. Sage, writing several years later, has a higher opinion of the style: "Mackenzie was as successful as an author as he was as an explorer, and his narrative is wonderfully interesting."⁵

Three full-length biographies of Mackenzie appeared in 1927. Mr. Arthur P. Woollacott⁶ has nothing to say about the style of the *Voyages*. Mr. Hume Wrong agrees with earlier critics that the book has no literary merit: "... the journal . . . [records] . . . events from day to day in a dry and matter-of-fact style for which . . . [the author] apologizes in the preface. It is not one of the great books of travel because it lacks literary distinction; but it is an admirably lucid and truthful explorer's log-book, which is all it professes to be."⁷ M. S. Wade not only agrees that the style is bad but also insists that cousin Roderick had nothing to do with the writing: "Although he had clearly intended at one time that his cousin Roderick should revise the manuscript, there is nothing to show that it was ever done. Perhaps . . . because of its lack of literary polish . . . the plain unadorned recital of the two journeys has a greater appeal than the choicest diction could ensure."⁸

But whatever its literary merits or defects may be, Mackenzie's book has remained popular. I have seen two rather recent editions. The more ambitious of these appeared as the third volume in the series called "Master works of Canadian authors", with an introduction by Mr. Charles W. Colby. He comments on the lucidity of the style: "As an example of the definiteness with which Mackenzie writes, take his description of life at Grand Portage."⁹ "To measure Mackenzie's habit of mind and literary style when dealing with a larger subject, take his comment upon the failure of the French missionaries to leave a permanent mark upon the North American Indian."¹⁰ And "... though Mackenzie could have had no schooling after the age of sixteen, he had picked up somewhere a vocabulary which he knew how to

⁴George Bryce, *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson* (Toronto, 1906), 93-4.

⁵Walter N. Sage, "Sir Alexander Mackenzie and his influence on the history of the north west" (*Queen's quarterly*, XXIX, April-June, 1922, 403).

⁶Arthur P. Woollacott, *Mackenzie and his voyageurs* (London and Toronto, 1927).

⁷Hume Wrong, *Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1927), 143.

⁸M. S. Wade, *Mackenzie of Canada* (Edinburgh and London, 1927), 238-9.

⁹(Toronto, 1927), p. xv.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. xvi.

use".¹¹ Of the expedition to the Pacific, Mr. Colby says: "It was a marvellous exploit, well and modestly related."¹² A still more recent editor of the second part of the *Voyages*, Dr. Milo Milton Quaife,¹³ disagrees with Mr. Colby, saying: "That Mackenzie's mastery of the wilderness exceeded his mastery of the pen will be apparent to the reader of his journal. . . . A skillful narrator . . . might easily have presented the story in more captivating fashion. . . . To demand this of Mackenzie, however, would be unreasonable. The world's great men of achievement have not seldom been inept in the art of narration."¹⁴

This long (perhaps over-long) review of Mackenzie's reviewers, biographers, and editors has raised two questions. The first is the question of the excellence of Mackenzie's literary style. This, I do not intend to discuss, although it is perhaps worth noting that the "lack of elegance" which disturbed reviewers a century and a quarter ago is hardly noticeable to modern readers, if, indeed, such elegance is a desideratum in travel books. The second is the question of who is responsible for the style, be it good or bad. Upon this matter I can throw a little light. Mr. Colby came near the truth when he said that Mackenzie had somewhere "picked up a vocabulary". He had indeed: it was the vocabulary of William Combe (1741-1823), who was later to achieve a passing fame as the author of *The tours of Doctor Syntax*.

Perhaps the fact that I have for some time been engaged on a biography of Combe has caused me too earnestly to deplore the failure of historians to discover Combe's part in the work. Perhaps, too, my interest in the man has let me look at the literary style with a less jaundiced eye. In any case, William Combe was Mackenzie's ghost writer. This collaboration was first made public in 1852, when Robert Cole published an account of Combe's many anonymous and pseudonymous writings from a list in Combe's autograph.¹⁵ Two later investigators¹⁶ have accepted this list as authentic. Both the British Museum *Catalogue of printed books*¹⁷ and the Library of Congress catalogue mention the fact that the *Voyages* was written with Combe's assistance.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. xvii.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

¹³*Alexander Mackenzie's voyage to the Pacific ocean in 1793* [a reprint of vol. II of the original ed. of 1801] (Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1931).

¹⁴*Voyages* (Toronto, 1927), pp. xxviii and xxix.

¹⁵Robert Cole, "William Combe and his works" (*Gentleman's magazine*, May, 1852, 467-72).

¹⁶John Camden Hotten, editor of *Dr. Syntax's three tours* (London, [1868]), and H. R. Tedder in the article on Combe in the *Dictionary of national biography*.

¹⁷The volume "M-MacCorkle" appeared in 1891.

Combe, by 1801, was a practised hand at this sort of literary hack work. He had already prepared for publication Thomas Falkner's *Description of Patagonia* (1774), John Meares's *Voyages . . . from China to the North West Coast of America* (1790), Aeneas Anderson's *Narrative of the British embassy to China . . .* (1795), James Colnett's *Voyage to the South Atlantic and round Cape Horn . . .* (1798), and had translated C. S. Sonnini's *Travels in upper and lower Egypt . . .* (1800) and Louis Ripault's *Report . . . on the antiquities of upper Egypt* (1800). And from this time until his death in 1823 Combe was almost constantly at work upon similar projects. More versatile than most of his Grubstreet neighbours, he cleverly varied his style to suit the character and presumable attainments of his current employer. When he published a series of letters supposed to have been written by Thomas, Lord Lyttelton, the forgery was so well executed that even relatives believed the letters genuine; and he often wrote letters so closely imitating Laurence Sterne that even to-day students of the eighteenth century find them a knotty problem. It is for this reason that reviewers and editors of that day and this have overlooked Combe's assistance.

From late in 1799 to the end of his life, Combe was in the King's Bench Prison for debt; so the story of Mackenzie's journeys into remote lands was written by one whose own travels were considerably circumscribed. I hope some day to publish a full-length biography of William Combe, but I have no reason to believe that I shall be able to say more of this collaboration than I have said here: William Combe was the ghost writer of the *Voyages* of Alexander Mackenzie.

FRANZ MONTGOMERY

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its eleventh annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography. Also there have been included some historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history, but which may be useful to readers who consult the list.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-

operation which we have received from over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, France, Germany, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. Mistakes or omissions which are drawn to our attention will be mentioned in the "Notes and comments" section in a later issue.

THESES FOR THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- BROTHER ALPHONSUS OF MARY WACHALSKI, A.B. Manhattan 1928. New Hampshire in the War of 1812. *Fordham*.
- SUSIE AMES, A.B. Randolph Macon 1908; A.M. Columbia 1926. The eastern shore of Virginia and Maryland in the colonial and revolutionary era. *Columbia*.
- CHARLES ARTHUR ANNIS, B.Com. Toronto 1930; A.M. Cornell 1933; Ph.D. 1936. A study of Canadian tariffs and trade agreements. *Cornell*.
- ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG, A.B. Barnard 1920; A.M. Columbia 1923. French-Canadian nationalism. *Columbia*.
- ORVILL EVERETT AULT, B.A. Queen's; B.Ped. Toronto; Ph.D. Edinburgh. The relation of certain problems to the training of teachers in the United States, Ontario, France, Scotland and Germany. *Edinburgh*.
- RICHARD C. BAKER, A.B. Harvard 1926; A.M. Cornell 1927. Roosevelt and the tariff. *Columbia*.
- J. R. BALDWIN. The Webster-Asburton treaty of 1842: A study in Anglo-American diplomacy. *Oxford*.
- HOMER GARNER BARNETT, A.B. Stanford 1927. A study of the nature and function of an institution referred to as the potlatch as it was known to the aborigines on the North West Coast of America. *California*.
- ROBERT W. BARNWELL, A.B. South Carolina 1926; A.M. 1928. The Loyalists of South Carolina. *Duke*.
- I. M. BISS, B.A. Cambridge 1928; A.M. Bryn Mawr 1929. The development of electrical power in Canada. *Toronto*.
- WILLIAM GRIFFITHS BLACK, B.A. British Columbia 1922; A.M. Chicago 1926; Ph.D. 1936. The development and present status of teacher training in western Canada with special reference to the curriculum. *Chicago*.
- LALLA ROOKH BOONE, A.B. Texas 1917; A.M. California 1922. Captain George Vancouver on the Northwest Coast. *California*.
- J. D. BRITE, A.B. Wyoming 1922; A.M. Chicago 1924. The attitude of European states towards emigration to America, 1607-1820. *Chicago*.
- LESLIE VAN H. BROCK, S.B. Waynesburg 1928; A.M. Michigan 1932. The currency question in relation to the American Revolution, 1750-75. *Michigan*.
- MARGARET E. BURNHAM, A.B. Michigan 1920; A.M. 1927. A study of the war governor in the American Revolution. *Columbia*.
- FRANKLIN W. BURTON, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Harvard 1934. The rise of the Canadian grain trade. *Harvard*.
- Mrs. HELEN B. BURTON, A.B. Wisconsin 1927; A.M. 1928. Joseph Chamberlain as colonial secretary. *Wisconsin*.
- G. F. BUTLER, B.A. Dalhousie 1933; M.A. 1934. Commercial relations between the United States and the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- JOHN DUNCAN CAMERON, B.A. Manitoba 1909; M.A. Toronto 1935. The law relating to immigration, 1867-1935. *Toronto (Law)*.
- LAUREN WILDE CASADAY, A.B. California at Los Angeles 1927. Labor problems of the salmon canning industry of the Pacific coast. *California*.
- S. D. CLARK, B.A. Saskatchewan 1930; M.A. 1931; M.A. McGill 1935. A study of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association with reference to its rôle in the development of a Canadian national consciousness. *Toronto*.
- MARTIN P. CLAUSEN, A.B. Illinois 1934; A.M. 1935. Economic factors in Anglo-American relations, 1861-65. *Illinois*.
- JOHN KNIGHT COCHRAN, A.B. Wisconsin 1931; A.M. 1932; Ph.D. 1936. Sir Arthur Gordon, First Lord Stanmore, as colonial governor. *Wisconsin*.
- J. I. COOPER, B.A. Western Ontario 1930; M.A. 1933. French-Canadian Conservatism in principle and practice, 1873-1896. *McGill*.

- WALTER JAMES COUPER, B.A. British Columbia 1920. Wages and labor conditions in certain selected industries in Canada, 1933-1934. *California*.
- JOHN H. COX, A.B. Oregon 1930; A.M. 1932. Organizations of the lumber industry in the Pacific northwest, 1889-1914. *California*.
- CHESTER W. CROWELL, A.B. River Falls State 1930; A.M. Iowa 1933. Edward Randolph, a royal official in the colonial service, 1675-1703. *Iowa*.
- CLARENCE HONEYWELL CURTIS, B.A. Queen's 1933; M.A. 1934. The financial problems of government in Canada in relation to constitutional development. *Chicago*.
- FRANK O. DARVAL, B.A. London 1926; B.A. Reading (England) 1928. Public opinion and war, with special reference to the War of 1812. *Columbia*.
- DONALD C. DAVIDSON, B.A. British Columbia 1933; A.M. California 1934. The Alaska boundary: An historical survey. *California*.
- WILLIAM A. DAVIS, A.B. Colgate 1935. History of the Canadian Northern Railway. *Harvard*.
- WILLIAM L. DAVIS, A.B. Gonzaga 1912; A.M. 1924. The Jesuits in the Pacific northwest. *California*.
- ROSALINE DE GREGORIO, B.S. Fordham 1934; A.M. 1935. The colonial woman. *Fordham*.
- ROBERT O. DEMOND, A.B. Syracuse 1917; A.M. 1925. The Loyalists of North Carolina. *Duke*.
- THORNE DEUEL, A.B. West Point 1912. Prehistoric Mississippi valley cultures and their sequences. *Chicago*.
- JESSE S. DOUGLAS, A.B. Oregon 1931; A.M. 1932. Military posts in the Oregon territory, 1846-98. *Minnesota*.
- PHILIP DRUCKER, A.B. California 1932; Ph.D. 1936. Diffusion of Northwest Coast culture in the light of some distributions. *California*.
- FRANK E. DYKEMA, A.B. Hope 1933; A.M. Michigan 1934. The commercial rivalry between the Dutch and the French, 1654-78. *Michigan*.
- ROBERT A. EAST, A.B. Williams 1931; A.M. Columbia 1932. A study of American capitalism in the American revolutionary era. *Columbia*.
- W. H. ELKINS. British policy in its relations to the policy and navigation of the United States of America from 1794 to 1807. *Oxford* (completed).
- F. J. ERICSON, A.B. Broadview (La Grange, Ill.) 1924; A.M. Chicago 1929. Mercantilism or imperialism as a cause of the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
- JEROME CLARENCE FITZGERALD, B.A. Toronto 1917. Problems in Canadian administrative law. *Toronto* (Law).
- ALLEN R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Wisconsin 1924. The French-Canadian invasion of New England. *Harvard*.
- W. A. FORAN, A.B. South Carolina 1932. The first historians of the American Revolution: A study in historiography. *Johns Hopkins*.
- EUGENE FORSEY, B.A. McGill 1925; M.A. 1926; B.A. Oxford 1928; M.A. 1932. Distribution of national income in Canada. *McGill*.
- JOAN M. FOSTER, B.A. McGill 1923; M.A. 1925; B.A. Oxford 1927; M.A. 1931. Reciprocity in Canadian politics from the Commercial Union movement to 1911. *Bryn Mawr*.
- ROBERT W. FRENCH, A.B. Michigan 1932; A.M. 1933. American direct investments in Canada. *Michigan*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-1867. *Radcliffe*.
- GEORGE D. GIBSON, A.B. California at Los Angeles 1934; A.M. 1935. Jesuit educational foundations in New France. *California*.
- J. A. GIBSON, B.A. Oxford 1934; B.Litt. 1935. The life of Sir Edmund Walker Head, Bart. *Oxford*.
- Mrs. SHIRLEY SAUL GORDON, B.A. Toronto 1920; M.A. 1936. Canada and the League of Nations. *Toronto*.
- E. C. GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The influence of the United States in the Confederation of Canada. *Toronto*.
- CHARLES C. GUILFORD, A.B. George Washington 1921; A.M. 1923. British public opinion of the War of 1812 as portrayed by the British press. *American*.
- DOROTHY A. GUTHRIE, B.S. Northwestern 1935; M.A. 1937. The imperial federation movement in Canada. *Northwestern*.
- FRANCIS D. HAINES, B.S. Montana State 1923; A.M. Montana 1932. The Nez Perce Indians in the history of the northwest. *California*.

- JOHN ERNEST MOFFAT HANCOCK, B.A. Toronto 1933; S.J.D. Michigan 1937. International law. *Michigan*.
- EDMUND G. HAVENS, B.S. Purdue 1932; A.M. Harvard 1934. The administration of Sir James Craig in Canada. *Minnesota*.
- M. J. HEWITT. The West Indies in the American Revolution. *Oxford*.
- R. J. HOOKER, A.B. Chicago 1934. Political activities of the Anglican church and its leaders in the American colonies, 1740-76. *Chicago*.
- LEORA HOPKINS, A.B. Illinois 1931. Massachusetts in the Seven Years' War. *Illinois*.
- JAMES WILLIS HOWARD, B.S.A. Toronto 1923. A study of cadet training in the Dominion of Canada. *Cornell* (presented June, 1936).
- AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, A.B. Reed 1925; A.M. California 1929. Eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, social and economic. *Pennsylvania*.
- Y. Z. HUTH. The Maritime Provinces of Canada: A study of geographical control of population distribution during the last three hundred years. *London*.
- DUNNING IDLE, A.B. Michigan 1925; A.M. 1926. The post of St. Joseph, 1680-1760. *Illinois*.
- MARK KEITH INMAN, B.A. Acadia 1925; A.M. Harvard 1928. Experience in Canadian banking, 1929-1934. *Harvard*.
- W. E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- LEONARD IRWIN, A.B. New York 1926; A.M. Pennsylvania 1933. Canadian-American rivalry in Pacific railroad building to 1890. *Pennsylvania*.
- MELVIN C. JACOBS, A.B. Ursinus 1912; A.M. Princeton 1914; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary 1915. The winning of the Oregon territory considered as a frontier movement. *Columbia*.
- R. JAPP, M.A. St. Andrew's 1927; M.A. McGill 1930. Education as an issue in confederation. *McGill*.
- H. P. JENKINS, B.A. Acadia 1927. An economic appraisal of colonial expansion. *Chicago*.
- VICTOR L. JOHNSON, B.S. Temple 1931; A.M. Pennsylvania 1932. The question of military supplies during the American Revolution, with special reference to food-stuffs. *Pennsylvania*.
- D. G. G. KERR, B.A. McGill. The work of Sir Edmund Head in British North America, 1848-61. *London*.
- VERA R. R. KILDUFF, B.A. Saskatchewan 1934; M.A. 1935. A history of commercial relations between the United States and Canada. *Brown University* (probable date of completion 1938).
- CALVIN THEODORE KRAFT, A.B. Harvard 1932; A.M. 1934; Ph.D. 1937. The financial relationship between the provinces and the Dominion of Canada. *Harvard*.
- RALPH E. LADD, jr., A.B. William and Mary 1935; A.M. Harvard 1936. Maritime history of Chesapeake bay to the Revolution. *Harvard*.
- LIONEL H. LAING, B.A. British Columbia 1929; A.M. Clark 1930; Ph.D. Harvard 1935. Merchant shipping legislation and admiralty jurisdiction in Canada. *Harvard*. (Summarized in Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, *Summaries of theses*, 1935, Cambridge, 1937.)
- S. LAWRENCE, B.A. McMaster 1923; M.A. 1929. Religious equality in British North America. *Toronto*.
- C. CECIL LINGARD, B.A. Queen's 1929; M.A. 1930. Territorial government in Canada: Canadian North-west Territories, 1870-1905. *Chicago*.
- A. D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- Mrs. DOROTHY E. LONG, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1928. Edward Ellice. *Toronto*.
- A. J. E. LUNN, B.A. McGill 1932; M.A. 1934. Economic and social conditions in French Canada, 1720-1763. *McGill*.
- JOSEPH P. McCLELLAND, A.B. Maryville 1930; A.M. Temple 1936. Howe's campaign in Pennsylvania. *Temple*.
- ORVILLE JOHN McDIARMID, B.A. Toronto 1932; M.A. 1933; Ph.D. Harvard 1936. Protection and Canadian industrial development. *Harvard*.
- MARGUERITE M. MCKEE, A.B. Smith 1920; A.M. 1922. Supplies of the American army in the War of 1812. *Columbia*.
- A. McLINTOCK. The establishment of colonial government in Newfoundland, 1783-1833. *London*.

- LEONARD CHARLES MARSH, B.Sc. London 1928; M.A. McGill 1933. Unemployment and economic status: A study of the incidence of unemployment and relief in Canada. *McGill*.
- M. MARIAN MITCHELL, B.A. British Columbia 1926; A. M. Clark 1927. William Knox and British colonial administration. *Columbia*.
- SIDNEY G. MORSE, A.B. Amherst 1926; A.M. Harvard 1929. New England privateering in the American Revolution. *Harvard*.
- W. L. MORTON. Newfoundland in colonial policy, 1763-1817. *Oxford*.
- CHARLES L. MOWAT, B.A. Oxford 1934. William Smith, 1728-1793, chief justice of New York, of Quebec, and of Lower Canada. *Minnesota*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, B.A. Manitoba 1911; M.A. Dalhousie 1914; LL.B. Manitoba 1916; B.D. 1917. Sir Charles Bagot, a critical reconsideration of his position in Canada. *McGill*.
- JEAN ELIZABETH MURRAY, B.A. Saskatchewan 1922; M.A. 1923, Toronto 1924; Ph.D. Chicago 1936. The fur trade in New France and New Netherland prior to 1645. *Chicago*.
- FRANKLIN T. NICHOLS, A.B. Dartmouth 1931; A.M. Harvard 1932. The Braddock campaign, 1754-55. *Harvard*.
- EMMETT F. O'NEIL, A.B. Harvard 1931; A.M. Michigan 1932. The development of the idea of French encirclement in North America to 1763. *Michigan*.
- MARION O'NEIL, A.B. California 1923; A.M. 1923. The North West Company on the Pacific. *California*.
- MARGARET ORMSBY, B.A. British Columbia 1929; M.A. 1931. Relations between British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada, 1870-86. *Bryn Mawr*.
- D. J. PIERCE, B.A. Queen's 1929; M.A. 1930. The historiography of French Canada. *Toronto*.
- RAYMOND A. PLATH, S.B. Wisconsin 1933; Ph.M. 1936. British colonial land policy, 1713-75. *Wisconsin*.
- A. N. REID, B.A. Queen's 1935; M.A. 1936. Canadian monetary and balance of payment problems, 1925-35. *London*.
- MARION L. RICE, A.B. Wyoming 1931; A.M. 1932. John Holker: A study of French business activity in America during the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
- STEPHEN T. RILEY, A.B. Clark 1931; A.M. 1932. Border defense in colonial Pennsylvania through 1763. *Clark*.
- CLARA G. ROE, A.B. Michigan 1915; A.M. Chicago 1928. The "Friends of America" in England (1765-75) and their relations to the colonial agents. *Michigan*.
- WILLIAM G. RUPPERT, jr., A.B. Iowa 1935; A.M. 1936. Canada and the League of Nations. *Iowa*.
- RUTH E. SANDBORN, A.B. Lawrence 1920; A.M. Northwestern 1921. Expansionist sentiment in the United States relating to British North America, especially in the northwest, 1865-72. *Northwestern*.
- W. B. SCHNEIDER, A.B. Illinois 1924; A.M. 1926. Imperialism in English literature in the period of the Boer War. *Chicago*.
- KURT SCHUMANN. Die Arktis, unter wirtschaftsgeographischen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet. *Greifswald, Germany* (1935).
- MORRISON SHARP, A.B. Harvard 1929; A.M. 1933. The New England defense system in the seventeenth century. *Harvard*.
- J. A. SHEEHY (Bro. Memorial), A.B. Manhattan 1929. The Oblate order in the Canadian northwest. *Toronto*.
- JAMES SIMSARIAN, A.B. California at Los Angeles 1930; A.M. Columbia 1934; LL.B. Columbia Law School 1937. Diversion of international waterways. *Columbia*.
- CATHERINE H. SMITH, A.B. Agnes Scott 1922; A.M. Chicago 1927. Social and economic factors in British imperialism in the 1880's. *Chicago*.
- GOLDWIN A. SMITH, B.A. Western Ontario 1933; M.A. Toronto 1934. The treaty of Washington, 1871: A study in imperial history. *Cornell*.
- KATHLEEN E. STOKES, M.A. Dalhousie. Sir John Wentworth and his times. *London*.
- DAVID B. TYLER, A.B. Williams 1921; B.A. Oxford 1926; A.M. Columbia 1928. A history of steamship lines in the north Atlantic up to 1902. *Columbia*.
- LEO J. WEARING, A.B. Creighton 1922; A.M. Kansas 1929. Credit relations as an imperial and a federal problem, 1765-87. *Wisconsin*.
- M. J. WEIG, A.B. Buffalo 1930. Mob leaders in the American Revolution. *Chicago*.
- FRANCIS A. WILEY, A.B. Emory and Henry 1934; A.M. Duke 1935. Jedediah Smith in the west. *California*.

- CLANTON W. WILLIAMS, A.B. Davidson 1927; A.M. Alabama 1928. The English background of the American Revolution. *Vanderbilt*.
 CHARLES FREDERICK WILSON, B.A. Western Ontario 1928; Ph.D. Harvard 1937. Agricultural adjustment in Canada. *Harvard*.
 H. D. WOODS, B.A. New Brunswick 1930; M.A. McGill 1931. Present problems of the Canadian pulp and paper industry. *Toronto*.
 C. J. WOODSWORTH, B.A. Manitoba 1932. The influence of the Far East on Canadian social and economic history. *London*.

THESES FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE

- AMOS ANDERSON, M.A. New Brunswick 1936. Educational administration in the city of Moncton. *New Brunswick*.
 R. T. P. APPLEYARD, B.A. Western Ontario 1926. The origins of Huron College as related to the religious questions of the time. *Western Ontario*.
 JACK IRWIN ARMSTRONG, B.A. McMaster 1935; M.A. 1936. International cartels. *McMaster*.
 M. A. ARROWSMITH, B.A. London 1930. The Pacific ports of Canada. *London* (completed).
 L. BAILLARGEON, B.A. Montréal 1934. Etude critique de la théorie du crédit social. *Montréal*.
 H. BEAUREGARD, B.A. Montréal, 1932. Le rôle économique de la culture maraîchère dans la province de Québec. *Montréal*.
 G. BERNIER. Le traité de réciprocité canado-américain 1935. *Montréal*.
 A. I. BLOOMFIELD, B.A. McGill 1935; M.A. 1936. The wheat market problem in western Canada. *McGill*.
 E. F. H. BOOTHROYD, B.A. Bishop's College 1934. The intendency under Frontenac. *McGill*.
 ROLAND BOURGAULT, B.A. Montréal 1934. Le Canada durant la crise. *Montréal*.
 P. E. BRAZEAU. Le contrôle budgétaire dans l'industrie. *Montréal*.
 JOHN C. BRIDGES, A.B. Macalester College 1935; A.M. Minnesota 1936. Canada in the international labor organization. *Minnesota*.
 VERA W. BURGESS, B.A. Queen's 1936; M.A. 1937. Anglo-Irish relations, 1910-1925. *Queen's*.
 TIMOTHY C. BYRNE, B.A. Alberta 1932. A study of the Ukrainian community of north central Alberta. *Alberta*.
 R. A. CAMERON, B.A. Queen's 1931; B.D. 1934. The history of industrial unionism in Canada. *Queen's*.
 ROGER CHARTIER. Le rôle des chambres de commerce. *Montréal*.
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REVIEW ARTICLE

ANNUAL SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AND OF EMPIRE HISTORY

THIS annual survey is once more indebted to Professor Keith for almost a small library. The astonishing thing is that there seems to be no law of diminishing returns in relation to his works, which continue to disclose a marvellous width of reading combined with accuracy and scholarship. First of all, he provides us with an excellent volume dealing with the imperial crown which ought to make a wide appeal as it is one of the least technical of his writings. The place of the crown in the imperial scheme is examined with sound knowledge and insight. This so-called "centre of unity" emerges through a study of the devolution of its authority and of the ambiguities connected with it, as a somewhat nebulous instrument of cohesion. When the office of governor-general is placed in clear light against the conventional rules which govern it; when secession and neutrality are submitted to critical argument; when ministerial responsibility and the whole cabinet theory of government are disclosed in the stern demands of practical politics—and Professor Keith does all this with a cold unemotional skill—then, it would seem that imperial unity through an imperial crown is not quite what it was in law, say two decades ago, and is not to-day anything more than a sentiment, no matter how valiant the efforts to make it appear otherwise. Indeed, it is not uninteresting to note that the events surrounding and flowing from the abdication of Edward VIII disclosed the legal implications of the Statute of Westminster; for we saw several equal nations united by a common allegiance to the crown in control of a situation where the same monarch was not reigning in them all at the same time. Of course, Professor Keith's book appeared too soon to deal with this matter; but it remains a solid piece of work which will constitute a permanent background, whatever the future. On one point, however, we must disagree with the learned author. While accepting, as a general rule, the convention that the monarch must grant a dissolution when requested, that he must not dismiss a ministry—in a word, that he is to reign not to rule—yet Professor Keith seems to have conservative opinions in relation to foreign policy. He writes: "It is to [the monarch] that the electorate must look for the maintenance of a wise restraint on any schemes of the ministry which may seem to involve the country deeply, and he must retain the right if necessary to compel the ministry to submit vital issues to the people, or to resign office and allow another ministry to take this step. No doubt this as always is an *ultima ratio*, but the right cannot be denied. A ministry is elected necessarily only on a general foreign policy, and if events emerge which render change of this policy necessary, it is for the king to consider whether or not the change is so vital that he should recommend ministers to take the opinion of the people on it" (p. 300). There are two points here. First, the conception of the political mandate, with which Professor Keith does not deal in full, but it would be interesting to know how far it is gaining adherents in the United Kingdom. In relation to foreign policy, at any rate, Professor Keith appears to favour it. Secondly, it is one thing to favour it and quite another to believe that the practical application of it should be possible in any way through royal action. We are willing to allow that Victoria was not quite incompetent in foreign affairs and that she frequently showed a

great deal more common sense than some of her ministers. We may concede that Edward VII was a useful traveller, though we still await a full estimate of what his ministers really thought of his peregrinations and of their essential value. However, in considering the relation of the monarch to foreign policy, we must remember that Victoria and Edward VII lived in a monarchical world, when to a large degree a dynastic or semi-mystical haze seemed to surround foreign policy; and, whatever their influences, they must be considered in the light of this fact. To-day, however, we cannot believe that there is "an *ultima ratio*", and we do not accept a position where the destiny of a cabinet would depend on the royal wishes, however well the monarch might be informed. This point raises, of course, the whole question of ministerial responsibility, of the basic principles of cabinet government. They are of vast importance.

We are fortunate in two new studies. Dr. Ivor Jennings in his *Cabinet government* gives us, perhaps, the most outstanding book of the year. Let us say at once that it is great in research, great in patience, great in what it suggests, great in the questions which it raises but may not answer. It is really the first full-dress study of cabinet government as we know it, and it is in the distinguished line of Bagehot. The aim of the book must be kept clear. It is an explanation of what "His Majesty's Government is and how it functions". It seeks "to expound and not to criticise. In order to expound it has been necessary to draw conclusions; but no statement is intended as a criticism except where it is considered that an action was not in accordance with constitutional practice." On the functional side it is first-class—the discussion of the cabinet offices and their duties is excellent, and, as in relation to the treasury, sometimes brilliant. These aspects of the subject are of outstanding value. However, when we come to "constitutional practice", the atmosphere is not so clear, the road is not so well surveyed, the compass is not reliable. This does not mean that Dr. Jennings is either ill-informed or wilfully misleading. It does mean that there do not emerge clear rules in relation to crown and cabinet. It may be that such rules are impossible, and that episodes from which historians would like to draw principles of government are in reality only episodes and not precedents. On the other hand, if this be so, it seems somewhat vain to examine each in turn only to end in vague generalities. This is a matter to which we shall return as it is one of real import. Meanwhile, we should like to recommend Dr. Jennings's book to every student of constitutional history. It is lively in places; full of strong statements; coloured with political and personal opinions. However, Maitland alone walked with airy grandeur in these fields. Neither Bagehot, nor Anson, nor Dicey wrote "as God holding no form of creed, but contemplating all". "Objectivity" is only possible, as a rule, for the chronicler. The personality of a real historian must touch his work; but this does not mean "bias", as too many of Dr. Jennings's superior critics would seem to suggest. We have read the book with fascination, and it ought to be the source of delight to many.

Its discussion of "constitutional practice" leads us naturally, at this point, to discuss Mr. Justice Evatt's contribution to constitutional theory. He reviews most of the modern episodes illustrative of the relation of the crown to its ministers, where difficulties, if not controversies, have arisen, and he concludes that all is not well with the theories in the present, and that the future is problematical and dangerous. In other words, he is concerned with the "reserve powers of the crown in Great Britain and the Dominions"—especially in relation to dissolution and to the dismissal of ministers. It is not necessary for our purposes to refer to all

the examples which he calls in aid; but his general conclusion is that, at least for governors, these so-called reserve powers ought to be clearly defined, and that the much vaunted "elasticity" may prove detrimental to the workings of cabinet government and, indeed, may ultimately injure it seriously and rob it of political value. It is in this connection that the study is important. The imperial conference of 1926, pursuing the vagueness of its rhetorical ways, laid it down that the relationship of a governor-general to his ministers should be substantially those of the king to the cabinet in the United Kingdom. The rule is futile; for, with Dr. Jennings and Mr. Justice Evatt as witnesses, it is impossible, in the real vital issues, to say what those relations are. We cannot follow the mist or we shall get lost once more in the quagmire of the Byng episode; and why on earth should executive principles in Canada be based on those of the United Kingdom even if they were clear and precise and thus capable of imitation? Indeed, a governor-general must neither imitate nor follow, nor create. He must do as he is told; must be seen not heard—otherwise, under the rules of the imperial conference of 1930, he must return whence he came. Mr. Justice Evatt's argument may not convince; but his suggestions have time on their side. We may not ever find it possible to define executive principles by a statute; but the Canadian instructions to a governor-general could be made much more practical than they are, and certainly a lot of their nonsense could be eliminated to make room for some of the proposals in this study whenever we are ready to give up even the appearance of the sincerest form of flattery for something which is creatively Canadian.

For the fluctuations and varieties of constitutional problems we owe to Professor Keith another volume of letters, *etc.*, to the press, which is the sequel to that which we reviewed last year. Covering only one year, it is by no means so full as its predecessor, but it is certainly no less interesting. Here once again we find the distinguished writer in "undress". The quiet of the study gives place to the arena, and we are provided with some lively writing on constitutional and international questions, all of which is eminently suggestive. Amid much, then, of importance, we should like to call special attention to the letters dealing with the Free State and with the Union of South Africa, which ought to be invaluable to non-lawyer students of imperial concerns; to the discussion of recent international events, which are full of excellent exposition in relation to Abyssinian affairs; to the German demand for the return of colonies; to the question of sanctions. Like its predecessor it forms a necessary companion volume to Professor Keith's technical treatises, while incidentally it deals with Mr. Justice Evatt, whose monograph is, in a degree, a challenge to some of Professor Keith's positions. It is interesting and not unprofitable to stand outside the ring.

Finally, in this division of our survey, there are four books to which the attention of historians should be drawn. First, there is the new edition by Mr. Cyril Asquith of his well-known work on constitutional law. It is what it claims to be—a manual of practical utility. It is a mine of accurate information and we recommend it to historians as a most convenient substitute for Anson and a wise substitute for Dicey. Secondly, we welcome a new selection from Maitland's essays. Here is at last available in convenient form the introduction to the *Memoranda de parlamento* (Rolls Series, 1893), edited with scholarship and insight by Mr. G. Lapsley. The other six essays are selected from the three-volume edition of the *Collected papers* and they constitute a *corpus* dealing with Maitland's theory of the corporation. They thus afford jurists and political scientists an opportunity to study Maitland's position in a convenient manner, under excellent and sym-

pathetic editorship. Thirdly, to Dr. Chimes we owe a study, which cannot be overlooked by any student of English constitutional history, dealing with the estate of the king, the conception of kingship, the crown in the constitution, the theory of the state, and especially with statute law and judicial discretion. Students will remember that Professor Plucknett in 1922 considered this last matter for the fourteenth century, and Dr. Chimes pursues it for the succeeding century. The entire discussion must be read before any real evaluation can be made of Professor McIlwain's constitutional theory of the American Revolution. Dr. Chimes has a distinct aptitude for research, and he writes with great care although he is far from being an artist. Be that as it may, no historian can properly understand the Tudor experiment and the principles of 1688 unless he has carefully digested Dr. Chimes's excellent series of studies. Finally, we would like to call attention to a little book on the coronation by the distinguished historian Dr. R. H. Murray. It might lightly be dismissed as a *tour de force* of only topical interest. It is, indeed, among the best of the recent books and it is the product of wide and discriminating reading. It gathers together in convenient form not a little of the pageantry of British history and it is of special value in relating the coronation of a monarch to the consecration of a bishop. Doubtless historians may find in it errors in detail; but these will not destroy an excellent and thoroughly readable monograph.

In connection with Australia, the most important book for many years is Mr. Wynes's admirable treatise on executive and legislative powers. He not only carries on the great traditions of Harrison Moore, Quick, and Kerr (whose treatise we have already favourably reviewed), but he summarizes in an adequate manner the legal situation up to 1936. In a technical review it would be possible to enter into a critical discussion. It will be sufficient here to point out that the distinguished author possesses a remarkable, comprehensive, and accurate knowledge of the case-law, a faculty for reasoned statement, and an acute legal insight. Indeed, these qualities are sustained throughout in the general penetrating analysis. In addition, the work is rendered all the more valuable by frequent references to American and Canadian problems. It is unfortunate, however, in this connection, that the question of delegation of powers in the United States is dealt with in too broad terms, while the author's conception of the *locus* of the residuum of legislative powers in Canada is somewhat out of balance. Much more interesting, however, is Mr. Wynes's discussion of the treaty-making power, over which he assigns practically full authority to the federal legislature. The recent decision in Australia as to legislative control over radio must, however, modify his position, which has, indeed, been entirely rejected by Australia at the recent constitutional referendum. Finally, there is a discussion of the Statute of Westminster, cursory and severely legal, but of great interest to other dominions. The book, technical though it is, will be of great use to historians as a work of reference. They should, however, be warned that there is little if any philosophical or social discussion, and we learn nothing of how Australian constitutional law serves Australian society.

Mr. L. C. Jauncey traces the history of conscription in Australia and his book has a distinct social value in that we watch with interest the problems connected with attempts to precede statutory decision by popular votes. No one but an Australian—and he a very dispassionate one—would write a valid criticism of this discussion. For ourselves it suggests two points of view. It seems, first, to be based entirely on evidence drawn from labour sources and is thus an *ex parte* statement. Secondly, no consideration of worth is given to the question whether

or not Australian effort in the war did not exceed its human and material resources. Mr. Jauncey, then, has missed a great opportunity. On the other hand, his monograph itself constitutes a source-book for the future historian of the issues, since it gathers together a mass of opinion which must be weighed in any comprehensive judgment. He has not, indeed, written either the first word or the last word; but he has made a contribution to the arguments which will demand future consideration.

Much more important is Mr. O'Brien's fascinating study of the foundations of Australia, which is, indeed, a real chapter in English history. The author devotes great care and long discussion to the problems of crime arising out of the agricultural and industrial changes; he examines the mass of penal statutes; he opens up the doors of prisons to the light of historical examination. Against this background he throws Pitt's policy, and there emerges a picture of colonial activity rarely equalled in its stupidity, and saved only from catastrophe by the practical wisdom of subordinates. The book is based on contemporary documents and it is no exaggeration to say that it constitutes a real contribution to the history—political, economic, and social—both of the United Kingdom and of the Australasian colonies. We know a good deal of Australian exploration, of Australian government, of Australian political issues; but Mr. O'Brien gives us, at long last, something which is intensely human. Writing with excellent knowledge, with no end to serve, without passion, he can appreciate a human experiment of extraordinary pain and misery; and we learn much directly and by implication of the "state of England" during the period—poverty, starvation, squalor, crowded dwellings, and a criminal law and prison system which bore witness to a philosophy of life as barren as its business economics were rich. Mr. O'Brien provides his work with every facility for reference—admirable notes, bibliography, and index. We hope that we are not asking too much from him when we trust that he will continue the story at least to the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is natural at this point to turn to the volume on Natal by Professor A. F. Hattersley which adds to his reputation as a well-known historian. For too long a period has the history of British settlement in South Africa been confined to the Cape Colony experiment at the expense of Byrne's schemes and projects in Natal, which, while learning nothing from the Cape and its sorrows, left a permanent and creative mark on South African history. A good deal of the earlier history owes much to John Bird's *Annals of Natal* which was published in 1888, but this concluded with the arrival in Natal in 1845 of the first British lieutenant-governor. Bird collected a lot of material connected with the later history. This was supplemented by further collectors in the field, and finally deposited with the Natal Society. Professor Hattersley's volume is based on this material and on his own independent research and he has produced an intimate record of the first generation of Natal's history as a British settlement: "an attempt to give a mirror of the life of Natal over this period". Introductory sections hold the volume together, lend it continuity, and afford opportunities to relate events to colonial history as a whole and to the Victorian age. The volume is enriched with the reproduction of admirable water-colours and photographs. No review can do more than call attention to a book which is in truth a social document, enlivened with many an amusing episode and rich in human fears, sorrows, failures, hopes, and successes. We can only congratulate the author on a work of almost romantic interest which deserves a place in every library devoted to the history of those who were makers of the empire. The problems of South Africa are human, economic, fiscal, racial,

and imperial. It is not uninteresting to forget for the moment the various views held on them by men of affairs and perhaps of wide experience and to turn and see them surveyed through the eyes of a younger man. Mr. Goold-Adams has had an interesting family connection with the Union, and with singular charm and an evident devotion to South Africa, he boldly claims a position for "the angle of youth" in discussing the present complications and their implications. Canadian readers will find much stimulating writing in relation to an economic structure in which gold-production figures so prominently, while every intelligent citizen will follow with deep interest the very sane survey of the native problem. No one but an experienced South African could evaluate this issue—and the literature is so wide and various that an outsider is almost at sea. On the other hand, Mr. Goold-Adams sees it in a practical light, however much far-off ideals may colour his hopes. One thing is certain, as Lord Selborne says in the foreword, the little book will produce thought; and, with Lord Selborne, we give it a distinct and hearty welcome as the first work of an author from whom we shall expect future studies.

The writings of Professor W. M. Macmillan on the native problem in Africa already enjoy a wide and well-deserved reputation. He visited the West Indies to get, if possible, new light on the African colonies, and he has written a monograph on the subject which does not place the islands in any too favourable a light, as he appears to have found, in spite of political freedom, that conditions were little better than in many African communities. Indeed, his book is "a study in poverty". Throughout the emphasis is on economic problems rather than on those of government, law, or race. The study is perhaps an argument against exploitation, and it contains interesting analyses of the condition of the small-holders and of wage-earners, with a general examination of social and moral conditions. He believes that reconstruction lies along the lines of scientific agriculture under sound financial and economic supervision, and that it must be hurried on by wide governmental aid. Here he envisages his conception of politics—active citizenship arising out of a deliberately planned and improved social life. Mr. Macmillan acknowledges the deficiencies of his observation and calculations, and others have criticized the conclusions. However this may be, the reader can trace a general stream of real value, conscious of the fact that Mr. Macmillan is too fine a scholar to be biassed wilfully. What reception the book will have in the West Indies and in South Africa among those to whom it is directed remains to be seen. For the moment we can accept it as a "tract" not merely for these communities but for the empire as a whole, where the "native" problems are, alas, far from solution.

The West Indies provide us this year with further volumes of real importance, and it is a great pleasure to note that historians and writers of distinction are turning more and more to an interesting field of history. Most outstanding of the books is that by Dr. W. B. Kerr, a distinguished graduate of the University of Toronto. Writing of Bermuda and the American Revolution, he has opened up a too-long neglected subject: the position of those North American colonies which did not join the War of Independence. Indeed, the major issues of that struggle have obscured others, which, though individually the lesser, yet constitute as a whole a necessary element in any summing up of the revolutionary situation. All the colonies shared in the British policies, and some of the island-colonies figure in the arguments and protests over the issues. During the actual revolution island-opinion was divided, or great theories of government faded before the more mundane demands of economic interests. Mr. Kerr hopes that his book will be the

first of a series which will "investigate conditions in the non-revolutionary colonies and suggest reasons for the attitude in each case towards the national movement in the thirteen". The present study on Bermuda is based almost exclusively on original research and it is a distinct contribution to scholarship. It is written with discernment, with judgment, with balance, and with a fine historical sense. We wish the author every success in the larger project for which this volume constitutes both an achievement and an incentive.

Two other volumes should not be neglected. First, Dr. Mathieson's book continues his studies of the British sugar colonies from the beginning of the anti-slave agitation in 1823. It begins in 1849, the great age of free trade, traces the consequences of that movement, throws important light on social conditions and on political and economic problems. Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Barbados, St. Kitts, Jamaica are surveyed in turn, while important chapters deal with Governor Eyre, Underhill and Gordon, the Jamaica rising, suppression, and reform. It will then be seen that Mr. Mathieson opens up important discussions, and he brings to them that sobriety of manner and that quiet restraint of judicial method which have characterized his previous writings. The work is well-documented, but the index is weak. Most interesting is his disagreement with Lord Olivier over the negro revolt, which will perhaps continue to provide historians with opportunities for discussion. Meanwhile we can afford to leave the *minutiae* of controversy to the experts while we enjoy Lord Olivier's delightful book on Jamaica. Writing out of a long experience in the West Indian department of the colonial office, out of practical contact with problems as secretary to the royal commission on economic problems, as colonial secretary, chief financial officer and governor of Jamaica, and finally as commissioner appointed to report on the West Indian sugar industry, he brings to his study an almost unequalled wealth of knowledge and of personal observation. He writes with charm, with a devotion to his subject, with a personal feeling for man and for nature which more than justify his title—"The Blessed Isle". There is, however, much more in the book than a record of pleasant journeyings. We are carried down the years from 1834 and the age of slavery, through all the processes of reform, until we arrive at modern Jamaica. These last twelve chapters are invaluable, and they ought to be read in close connection with Professor Macmillan's somewhat impressionistic monograph, as they are the product of long personal observation and study. There stand out for serious thought such subjects as the land and the people, labour, woods and waters, crown lands and land purchase, education, conjugal habits, the constitution, and such like. It is not too much to point out that every page is suggestive both explicitly and implicitly. The illustrations enhance the interest, and the bibliography suggests further reading for those whose appetites must be whetted by a volume through which passion and devotion move amid the factual value of the record. No person interested in Jamaican culture can afford to neglect this charming book; and at the lowest—the very lowest—it may well be read by every visitor to Jamaica.

The new constitutional experiments in India more than justify references to two excellent books. To Professor Keith's inexhaustible industry we owe a first-class piece of scholarship which is a safe vantage ground from which to view India's constitutional past and to look out over its constitutional future. Cold and legal though the book may be, it is just of that quality so necessary at the moment. Not only will the historian find in it resettlings of the past—such as the estimate of Warren Hastings—, but he will come in contact with grave problems. The coming

of British political ideas and ways passes into the hands of westernized Indians with all the consequences of constitutional demands, of Lord Curzon's indiscretions, of the constitution of 1919, and of the present problematical situation. Indeed, the chapters dealing with this last point are simply invaluable. Nowhere else will the non-legal reader find the position of the princes, the federal issues, responsible government and status, the modern constitution, analysed in more accurate, wiser, or more restrained writing. We recommend the work without qualification to every serious student of Indian and imperial affairs. It is a work of outstanding accomplishment and its pages are opened up for reference, as is usual in all Professor Keith's books, by an index which itself constitutes a veritable guide. The volume by Mr. W. H. Moreland and Sir Atul Chatterjee is at once complementary to Professor Keith's and a singularly happy example of the combination of Anglo-Saxon and Indian authorship. It covers much the same field, but the history is given in greater detail, and less emphasis is laid on present-day issues. In serving as a companion to Professor Keith's survey, its chief distinctions lie in the light which it throws on Indian culture and ideals, especially in view of their contacts with foreign elements, whether social, economic, political, or legal. Both authors bring to their work an invaluable experience. Mr. Moreland is not only a well-known writer on Indian history and economics, but has been an administrator in the United Provinces; Sir Atul Chatterjee was for many years in the Indian civil service, a member of the Indian legislative assembly, high commissioner for India in London, and at present he is vice-president of the council for the secretary of state for India. This record of personal and actual contact with Indian affairs colours with advantage every page; and the volume thus possesses a quality too often absent in Indian history. Indeed, the very qualifications of the authors give rise to a certain amount of disappointment. Though much is given, we should have hoped for a more profound analysis and a deeper insight. With all its fine qualities and its exceptional Indian atmosphere, the book is in a sense disappointing. The "soul" of India still remains for western readers a mystery, and we are not translated into the inner life in the manner of the great masters of cultural interpretation. On the other hand, the book is one for which we should be deeply grateful; and, in spite of shortcomings, it remains a singular accomplishment.

In conclusion, there is a group of books of a more general nature which deserve notice. Dr. Stoye, whose work has been admirably translated, provides us with a well-informed view of the British Empire up to 1935 from a remarkably unprejudiced German point of view. This English edition has been carefully done, and important additions have been made to it. The most interesting thing about the book is its approach: that of a "geopolitician, basing myself on blood and soil". As a consequence, the empire emerges as the product of a "highly individual and not easily intelligible English character, which in turn is the outcome of the racial mixture, soil, climate and history that have gone to make England", unsystematic and illogical, haphazard and incongruous, yet firm and stable in spite of all its critics. The author has, indeed, accomplished his aim: to give a clearer idea to Germans and to as many other foreigners as possible of what he calls "the most important political phenomenon in human history" and to prove his conviction that "the British Empire is not breaking up". It is flattering to us to read these pages; but the distinguished author is no mere purveyor of sentimental goodwill, and criticism is by no means absent. He discloses not only learning but an insight based on wide contact with imperial life and affairs. To review the book in meticulous detail would do nothing to qualify our opinion that it is one of the most

important foreign volumes of recent years and that it deserves wide, sympathetic, and careful reading.

Mr. Barnes returns once more to colonial problems, and his discussion of the future of colonies has, at the moment, a popular interest. He presents a picture of the problem of satisfying the aspirations of the "have not" and the "dynamic" states, while at the same time promoting native welfare under European rule. He would do something to meet demands of European states through making colonial trade free, through an international guarantee to all contracting parties of a supply of raw material by extending the mandate principle and by strengthening the personnel of the permanent mandates commission. He also lays emphasis on the hope that colonies should less and less be considered as productive areas for European consumption, and should be encouraged as consumers. He would exclude private capital from colonies and would encourage progress by native co-operation or state-controlled methods. Theoretically we may agree with much of his argument; but anyone acquainted with colonial life does not care to contemplate the consequences of readjustment along the lines of his suggestions. We acknowledge much of the pain and sorrow in native cultures to-day, but frankly we believe that we are face to face with problems for which no real answers are available. At any rate, those of Mr. Barnes contain no immediate solution. With his monograph may be conveniently read that of Mr. Lansbury, between the lines of which it is possible to see something of the policy of a labour government. It is unnecessary to examine details which are full of theory and in a degree divorced from practicability. On the other hand, here are the fine idealism and the generous emotion which move men and women: the love that, casting out all fear, is prepared to shatter the world of sorrow and mould it nearer to the heart's desire.

Three books—mostly of a text-book nature—do not call for detailed notice. It is hardly necessary to recommend that by Mr. J. A. Williamson which has established itself as an admirable text for the senior forms in schools. Suggestive, careful, and not ruined by detail, it ought to maintain for many years its established position. Equally good for similar purposes is Mr. Southgate's volume. It has the advantage of a larger supply of maps and of an excellent set of summaries. Captain Roe's book is less concentrated and much easier to read. The facts are subordinated to a record of achievement and to a process of evolution in political liberty; while the future is not neglected with all its potentialities for good or evil. The three volumes ought to be in every school library.

Three studies, just published, are of the greatest value to all students of imperial affairs, and they deserve close and detailed study. Special attention may well be drawn to them in concluding this annual survey. First of all, Sir Arthur Willert, Mr. B. K. Long, and Mr. H. V. Hodson combine in a co-operative volume suitable for the general reader. It is unnecessary to point out that each brings to the work excellent qualifications. Sir Arthur first views the modern world in its most vital situations and jurisdictions, and then discusses the empire in this setting of world problems. His concern is really with foreign policy and defence, and he writes not without convictions, but with restraint and moderation. Neither an alarmist nor an uncritical optimist, he valiantly tries to be a realist—on the whole with success—and the estimate of the situations which emerges is balanced, if perhaps not entirely convincing. Mr. Long surveys the empire as it was in 1914 and as it is in 1937, and he sees that the developments of these years make it inevitable that each nation will interpret its obligations differently and in its own way in a world crisis. The chapters and discussions dealing with "equality of

status", the office of governor-general, the nature of the crown, the Statute of Westminster, the Irish Free State, and the abdication are excellent. There is a phrase which might well be pondered by those whose "loyalty" is not free from a dangerous element in criticizing differences of national development within the commonwealth: "To speak or write as though there was a phantom-tribunal of constitutional law, somewhere or other in the empire, before which a Dominion wanting to secede could be dragged and condemned is completely wrong-headed. Into the bargain, it is disastrous. . . . The cohesion of the commonwealth is weakened, not fortified, if allegiance to the crown is insisted on as the one connecting and inviolable link." This is sound doctrine. Indeed, these pages (pp. 120-6) might well be read with profit by every sincere and honest well-wisher not only of the empire but of world peace. Perhaps, however, the most valuable chapters in the study are those from the pen of Mr. Hodson, who, in the editorial chair of the *Round table*, has beyond doubt acquired a balance of outlook which makes his learning and ability worthy of great respect and careful hearing. His chapters deal with the economics of empire, and they are the product of wide knowledge, and balanced economic thought, not without a fine critical faculty. We may not agree with his point of view, explicit or implied, but he certainly provides excellent food for thought. To examine them in detail would be impossible, but no one interested, not merely in the economic problems of the empire but of the world, can neglect these acute studies. The entire volume will repay thoughtful reading.

To the activities of the Royal Institute of International Affairs we owe the report by a study group of members on the structure and problems of the British Empire. For obvious reasons I cannot write of this in detail, as I read it, by request, when it was in draft form. It is a carefully worded and well-organized presentation of the leading problems and structures of the various units of the empire and of the empire as a whole. As a rule the issues are clearly stated; and, doubtless in some measure due to the criticisms presented to the study group as the study was in process of preparation, the volume will serve a useful purpose in bringing into relief at least some of the elements essential in any such survey, without giving offence and without special pleading. The various studies of the jurisdictions appear adequate for their specific purposes. They are at least sober, if not full. Those of the broader problems, if we except the discussions of the former German colonies, are as objective as the interaction of many minds will allow. They have the caution of a man skating on thin ice in a dense fog. They will not hurt the most sensitive skin. They will not warm the most "loyal" heart. The book beyond doubt owes much to the presence of Mr. H. V. Hodson, Mr. R. T. E. Latham, and Mr. B. K. Long in the study group, and they have learned in a degree to bend the bow of the Cambridge historical method. We feel that the work and time spent on the survey are not entirely without profit. The project was nothing if not ambitious. That it has succeeded as well as it has done says much for the growing appreciation of wise restraint and of careful walking in the world of these frictional issues.

To the Royal Institute of International Affairs we owe another volume remarkable for its width of information, its scholarship, and its insight. Professor Hancock surveys the affairs of the British Commonwealth from 1918 to 1936, with special emphasis on the problems of nationality viewed from the base of the imperial conference of 1926, and excluding as far as possible "international affairs at large and the domestic affairs of the various members of the British Commonwealth". The leading theme is the problem of equality. Is equality, flowing from free

association, a danger to unity? Is it satisfactory to sane nationalism? What guidance, if any, lies for India and the colonies, in the progress of the commonwealth idea? Professor Hancock looks back with a fine and extremely well-informed sense of historical perspective to the theory of the old empire and to the evolution of responsible government, where he brings into relief that the much-praised success of British colonial policy was due to the wisdom of the colonists and not to any superior insight in London. He follows the inevitable developments, speaking with the force of facts, which even to-day have out-run the ambit of the ill-drafted Statute of Westminster. Weakest are the discussions dealing with Palestine and Newfoundland. Excellent is that on Malta, which might well form an addition to the sermon, so brilliantly preached recently by Sir Cecil Clementi,¹ on the futility of popular institutions amid a non-political people. Most illuminating of all are those dealing with the Irish Free State. Some years ago Professor Coupland, in the George Watson lectures, lifted the older Irish history into the realms of decent judgment by a scholar and a gentleman.² Professor Hancock has done similar work for the years since 1916. It is a pleasure to read pages where neither orange nor green, neither King William nor the pope, neither Carsonades nor "white cockades", neither the Boyne nor the Vatican makes the confusion of the history worse confounded. We have no hesitation in saying that these chapters are a permanent contribution to imperial history; and they are worthy of the highest traditions of historical scholarship. The book is weakest on the theoretical side, and we have remained unconvinced by the philosophical chapter entitled "Review". If such a summing up must be made, it were better done after the economic discussions reserved for succeeding studies. For the moment we feel that Professor Hancock is out of his element. It would be ungracious, however, to leave the volume on a note of criticism. Professor Hancock has made a learned and scholarly addition to history. He writes with distinction; at times with charm; at times with eloquence; at times with epigrammatic illumination. In addition, Mr. Latham adds value to a work of outstanding importance with a long discussion of over a hundred pages dealing with the law of the commonwealth. This is not the place to submit the chapter to professional criticism; but we must say at once that it is most excellent for the non-professional reader. And here we welcome the philosophical approach, for we hope that we see in it a sign that a philosophy of law is at long last about to invade the studies of an English lawyer. Indeed, the distinguished author's position in the faculty of law of the University of London ought to be a guarantee that law students will no longer be fed the devitalized and mouldy pap that has too long passed for nutriment in lectures and instruction in constitutional law. Mr. Latham, in this chapter, has achieved a place of honour among those who know law and life. We welcome him warmly to that small group of writers on imperial constitutional law who are not only lawyers, but juristic scholars and men of social insight. It is not without significance to point out that the two authors whose work has combined to make this study so outstanding are both citizens of the oversea empire. The whole volume in conception, in achievement, and in the first-class, ample, and judicial notes is of the highest importance, and the authors, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the publishers are to be sincerely thanked.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

¹Sir Cecil Clementi, *A constitutional history of British Guiana* (London, 1937).

²R. Coupland, *The American Revolution and the British Empire* (London, 1930). Cf. the same author's *The empire in these days: An interpretation* (London, 1935), and *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Sept., 1935, 312.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Federal Subsidies to the Provincial Governments in Canada. By J. A. MAXWELL.
(Harvard Economic Studies, vol. LVI.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 284. (\$3.00)

IF such a regulation could be enforced, this book should be made compulsory reading for the members of all Canadian governments both federal and provincial; for it gives in a single compact volume the complete story of the seventy-year old financial tug-of-war between the federal authority and the provinces. The record, as set out by Mr. Maxwell, tends to leave in the mind a question-mark as to the possibility of putting financial relations between the parties to the federation upon a basis other than one of continuing intrigue and recurrent clash. Mr. Maxwell calls it a "shameful history". "Time after time", he says, "better terms have been granted to pay political debts or to win political support and each concession has raised fresh demands", until now after these decades of adjustment conditions are "particularly bad".

It is quite true that the provinces have been unrelenting in their schemes for getting more and yet more money out of the dominion treasury, undeterred by engagements as to "finality", and that they have shown amazing persistence and audacity in using a concession made to one province as a pretext for raids by others; but it is also true that the dominion government has often been a consenting party to these raids and has even initiated them when there were political ends to serve. It was the dominion that within two years of confederation took the first steps towards re-opening the terms, which had been agreed upon as "a full settlement of all future demands", in order to soothe Nova Scotia's hurt feelings. These fixed subsidies were supposed to be part of the constitution and therefore subject to change only by means of a constitutional amendment; but this variation in the terms of one of the articles of confederation was made unilaterally by the dominion parliament at the instance of the government. Mackenzie and Blake on behalf of the Liberal opposition sought to raise the constitutional issue, but Sir John Macdonald brushed it aside under the plea of necessity. The question at issue, he said, was the pacification of Nova Scotia; and to that end could not the dominion do as it pleased with its own money? Parliament in approving the action disowned it as a precedent and, indeed, declared that it should not be repeated. But the example had been set. In the sixty-eight intervening years, the financial changes in the relations of the dominion and the provinces have been numerous and radical; and, save in the case of the general readjustment of 1907, by action of the dominion parliament alone. Section 118 of the B.N.A. Act is now nothing but an historic curiosity. Mr. Maxwell thinks it "unfortunate that the federal government did not grant better terms to Nova Scotia by formal amendment of the British North America Act". By not doing so, it opened the floodgates.

As Mr. Maxwell presents the record, it has the appearance of a sordid game of grab for money and political advantage covering many years; but it was in some degree the inevitable consequence of confederation, part of the price Canada had to pay for the miracle of her existence. The economic arguments against confederation made by its opponents in the Maritime Provinces were unanswerable; and their predictions of damage to the interests of these provinces were fulfilled almost to the letter. Mr. Maxwell recapitulates them: the boon of trade with Canada was valueless, only 6 per cent. of their exports finding a market there while 40 per cent. went to the United States; confederation would mean adopting the Canadian protective tariff in place of the low tariffs of the Maritimes; it meant

risks and burdens instead of safeguards and benefits. The ardent desires of Canada and the determination of the imperial government combined to overbear the well-founded resistance of the Atlantic provinces; and when, in the result, the fears justified themselves the upper provinces, which controlled the government, had to consent to giving the Maritime Provinces, beginning with Nova Scotia in 1869, the equivalent of bonuses to make confederation tolerable to them. It was a small price to pay to ensure the continuance of a national structure which might otherwise have collapsed once the pressure which brought it together relaxed.

The shifts and expedients to which the dominion government resorted to hide from itself and the Canadian people the fact that it was paying out money to these provinces to meet inexorable fiscal needs and to make a pretence that it was merely adjusting inconsistencies and oversights in the original set-up, make a story which does not put the Canadian politicians of those days in a favourable light. There was, however, more justification for their course than appears in Mr. Maxwell's interesting pages.

Equally there is something missing from Mr. Maxwell's account of the adventures of the Prairie Provinces in securing successive adjustments of their financial relations with the dominion, by which they obtained the remnants of the national domain and compensation for alienation of land for dominion purposes. As told by Mr. Maxwell, it reads like a story of audacious hold-ups, but it was in effect a programme, carried out as opportunity offered, of giving the western provinces a real, in place of a partial, status in confederation. In the west as in the Maritimes, certain courses had to be followed if confederation was to be possible, but they involved consequences which called, as time passed, for remedial action. To keep all western Canada from being taken over by the United States in the mood for serving "manifest destiny" which prevailed in the late sixties, Canada had to apply policies which prevented the orderly development of the country, and the successive readjustments have been attempts, only rarely effective, to free the western provinces from burdens which, under other circumstances, they would not have been asked to bear.

The constructive portion of Mr. Maxwell's book is valuable and his suggestions—which do not go to the point of definite recommendations—should, and doubtless will, be regarded in the reconsideration which must now be given to the whole dominion-provincial set-up. Mr. Maxwell is not in favour of solving Canadian problems by creating greater ones through transferring all responsibilities to Ottawa; but he thinks the system of unconditional subsidies is obsolete and due for replacement by some arrangement which will involve co-operation between the dominion and the provinces.

This is a most timely, suggestive, and provocative book, and a wide reading of it by the people of Canada would be an admirable preparation for an approach to an intelligent consideration of the great task of to-morrow—the remodelling of the outdated structure of confederation.

J. W. DAFOE

Canada. By ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED. Trans. from the French by H. H. HEMMING and DORIS HEMMING. London: Jonathan Cape. Toronto: Thos. Nelson and Sons. 1937. Pp. 315. (\$3.00)

CANADA is already indebted to Mr. Siegfried for a penetrating interpretation of her racial problem as between the French and the English, and this book, which is a careful study of Canada's present position in the world, adds to the debt. It is a survey of the chief factors in Canada's outlook by one who has carried out similar studies in other parts of the world and has standards of comparison. He describes the massive bulk of Canada as compared with the delicate outlines of Europe, which

has great variety, within relatively small space, both in climate and in resources. The two vast American continents are built on lines so identical that "if we could fold one continent over top of the other, we should find an amazing similarity" (p. 19). Chile would correspond to British Columbia; Peru to California; and so on. Mr. Siegfried says that, while the natural lines of communication in Europe run eastward and westward, those in North America run northward and southward. This may be doubted. The greatest water highway in the world, the St. Lawrence and its sources, trends eastward and westward. The Missouri and the Ohio have a similar character, while the Mississippi, flowing southward, is relatively less important to-day than it was before the railway deprived it of much of its commerce. Canada's trend southward was due to the attraction of the more developed commerce of the United States.

Mr. Siegfried's book is largely statistical. He has studied blue books and reports and gives lucid summaries. In 1931 about fifty-two per cent. of the population of Canada was of British origin and nearly twenty-nine per cent. of French origin. Those of British origin are less prolific than those of French or other origin, owing to their higher standard of living. Since 1931 the proportion has changed, as against the British and Mr. Siegfried points out, that if immigration from other countries is checked, the French element will gain on the British, not, however, he thinks, with any prospect of their becoming a majority. Other elements of the population will tend to conform to the British type, for assimilation always favours the Anglo-Saxon.

In regard to politics Mr. Siegfried stresses the fact that Canada is the only important country in America that retains a political tie with Europe. She is a living paradox: she is both English and French; she is thoroughly American, in the wider sense, in thought and life; yet she is so European as to ensure that in a real crisis she would take part in a European war in defence of an endangered Britain. She grew restless under the colonial tie, with its brand of Canadians as second-rate Englishmen, only half free, and was not content until she secured in 1931 equal political status with Great Britain.

Lack of space prevents discussion of many interesting factors noted by Mr. Siegfried. He has studied the *Canada year book*, that amazing record of life in Canada. Males outnumber females in nearly all of Canada, and in the west by more than ten per cent. Roman Catholics in Canada are forty-one per cent. of the population, a factor that stresses the acute need of tolerance in religion. Thirty-five per cent. of the French in Canada are bilingual, compared with less than four per cent. of the English. Canada's limited home market shackles her industries. Her production in agriculture, far beyond her own needs, makes her specially dependent on export trade. As neighbour to the United States, she has to keep up a high standard of living to hold especially her industrial classes. It is tragic, Mr. Siegfried thinks, that to-day there are in the United States some three million people of Canadian origin, nearly equal to one-third of the total population of Canada. Himself French, Mr. Siegfried takes special interest in Quebec. The French Canadian, he says truly, is the only real peasant in North America, proud, not ashamed, of his peasant character and of the standing of "habitant". Yet only thirty-seven per cent. of the people of French Canada now live on the land. The French Canadian is wholly of the new world. With him and his Anglo-Saxon neighbour there is no fusion. He may seem cold towards the federal Canada, where he is in a minority, and he has more thought of breaking away from the rest of Canada than from Britain—one of the many singular features of his mentality.

Mr. Siegfried makes an occasional slip. The Treaty of 1763 gave no guarantees

in regard to the use of the French language (p. 44). It is amusing that the occupations of the English element in Canada should be "principally civil servants, soldiers or the sons of soldiers, Anglican rectors, wealthy farmers, etc." (p. 85). The British Empire is in no sense a federation (p. 209); and, though Canada cannot, Australia can change her own constitution (p. 220). Not the viceroy but the viceroy in council, that is, the cabinet, has the power of pardon (p. 228), nor is the viceroy always an Englishman (p. 239).

Mr. Siegfried has written an excellent book. French Canadians may be grateful to him for quoting the advice of the eminent French geographer, Réclus, to their race: "Send your colonists towards the north far from the American frontiers. Send them where the winters are long and the climate rigorous, where families are numerous and the race is strong" (p. 135).

GEORGE M. WRONG

The Colonial Period of American History: The Settlements, II. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. [vi], 407.

The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University, Stokes Foundation.) New York: New York University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. [x], 281.

The British Empire Before the American Revolution: Provincial Characteristics and Sectional Tendencies in the Era Preceding the American Crisis. Vol. I: *Great Britain and Ireland.* Vol. II: *The Southern Plantations.* Vol. III: *The Northern Plantations.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 1936. Pp. xxix, 301; xxx, 383; xxxvi, 347. (\$15.00 the set)

Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776. 2 vols. Edited by LEONARD WOODS LABAREE. (Prepared and published under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.) New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1935. Pp. xxvi, 462; x, 463-937. (\$10.00)

The Colonial Agents of New England. By JAMES J. BURNS. A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. 1935. Pp. vi, 157.

Population Distribution in Colonial America. By STELLA H. SUTHERLAND. New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. xxxii, 353. (\$4.00)

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Vol. VII: *January 1, 1783, to December 31, 1784.* Vol. VIII: *January 1, 1785, to July 25, 1789 with supplement 1783-1784.* Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication no. 299.) Washington, D.C.: Published by Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1934; 1936. Pp. lxxvii, 670; xcv, 899.

Revolutionary New Hampshire: An Account of the Social and Political Forces Underlying the Transition from Royal Province to American Commonwealth. By RICHARD FRANCIS UPTON. Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications. 1936. Pp. xvi, 276. (\$3.00)

THE volumes here listed provide striking illustration of the excellent work which American scholars are continuing to do in the already well-tilled fields of the colonial and revolutionary periods. Other titles might doubtless be added, but enough have

been included to make clear the value of books such as these for students of Canadian history. In addition to numerous direct, if at times incidental, references bearing on Canadian history, these books have at least two general points of interest for Canadian students. In the first place, they demonstrate the broader view which has characterized the treatment of the colonial period by American historians in recent years. Attention is no longer given merely to the thirteen colonies. The attempt is made rather to give them their correct setting in the historical development of the continent and of the British Empire as a whole. The advantages of such an approach are obvious, and the value of a similar treatment of certain aspects of Canadian history needs no emphasis even though much remains to be done in this direction. A second point of interest is to be found in the contributions which are being made to the cultural and institutional history of the thirteen colonies. In these respects also much remains to be done in Canadian history, and it may be of value to Canadian students to observe the methods and types of evidence which are being used by American scholars and the results which are being achieved.

Professor Andrews in the second volume of his monumental work on the colonial period deals with Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and the proprietary colonies of Barbados and Maryland. As in the first volume his aim is to analyse the "great complex of conditions which underlay English expansion in the New World", to describe the process by which English laws, institutions, and ideas were transplanted, and to show how they were changed in the process of adaptation to a new environment. The determination of the author to make accurate appraisals based on thorough scholarship and to get away from confusing or misleading generalities, some of them still current, is everywhere in evidence. Illustrations of the author's approach may be found in his treatment of religious toleration in Maryland or of the absence of democratic ideas in the political and religious organization of the Connecticut Puritans. Chapters on Barbados and Maryland are preceded by description in considerable detail of the conditions of manorial organization in seventeenth-century England. Canadian readers, with the history of New France in mind, will be interested in the "aristocratic and seignorial life" of Maryland. "No such transplanting of a manorial system took place in any other of the English continental possessions. . . . The seignorial organization of Maryland was more than social and tenurial, it was political and administrative as well."

Professor Morison's description of the intellectual life of early New England is based on painstaking scholarship and at the same time makes delightful reading. He describes the schools and their curricula, libraries, sermons, historical and political writing, verse, and the beginnings of scientific interest. One cannot but admire the skill with which he has woven minute details frequently obtained from obscure sources into a pattern whose main conclusions stand out clearly in relief. Not the least interesting feature is the short shrift given to the iconoclasts—"people so superior in intellect that they can give you the essence of an era without the labor of reading the sources"—who have had their innings with New England Puritanism in recent years.

The volumes by Professor Gipson are the first contribution to a projected work of some ten volumes on the British Empire before the American Revolution. In these three he has given a view of the old empire "in a state of tranquillity and equilibrium for the last time in its history", that is in the interval between the War of the Austrian Succession and the outbreak of hostilities in North America which led to the Seven Years' War. Beginning with a chapter on the number and extent of the British possessions and the principal features of the system of imperial con-

trol, the first volume goes on with a description of the economic and political organization, the religious conditions, and some of the more important characteristics of society in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The second volume deals with the southern colonies, the British West Indian Islands, and the slave-trading interests centred in the Guinea coast of Africa. Special chapters are given to tobacco and sugar with emphasis on the problems of production and investment, and the rivalries resulting from the sharp competition for markets. Volume III covers the New England and middle colonies, the Hudson's Bay Company, Newfoundland, and the fishery of the gulf of St. Lawrence; a special chapter is given to the iron industry in England and America, and a final chapter to summary and general conclusions. In the third volume there is considerable material bearing directly upon Canadian history not only in the chapters on Newfoundland and Hudson bay, but also in those on New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, where attention is given to lumber, fishing, and the fur trade. Later volumes will have more to say of the Anglo-French rivalry, but the first three emphasize how widespread and serious were the points of friction. In concluding his description of the crisis in 1752 on the Guinea coast, Mr. Gipson remarks, "Well might the war for empire have begun off the African coast at this juncture rather than at the forks of the Ohio two years later!"

In covering so broad a canvas Mr. Gipson has been forced, as he remarks in his preface, to make a rather arbitrary selection of material, and doubtless readers will feel at times that important points have been omitted or inadequately treated. It appeared to this reader, for example, that more might have been said with regard to immigration and the various elements in the population of certain of the colonies. One cannot but feel, however, that the author has, on the whole, admirably realized his aim. He has given a vivid impression of the vitality and difficulties, the varied interests and rivalries of the eighteenth-century empire. His approach is objective and dispassionate and it is only in his concluding chapter of summary that he allows himself anything in the way of general judgments. The tenor of these is favourable. The sectional tendencies and economic rivalries within the empire, which are made so apparent in previous chapters, are recognized as the product in great part of a freedom which allowed ample scope for individual initiative and variety of enterprise. The dangers of particularism frequently appeared serious in the face of economic competition with the more highly centralized French empire, but the British Empire had a vitality which the French empire lacked, and the author believes that British policy was on the whole both intelligent and tolerant in harmonizing conflicting internal interests. "From the point of view of the development and dissemination of liberal political conceptions and institutions and the successful establishment of varied forms of individual enterprise in an attempt to realize not only favorable conditions of life for a widespread population but an ideal of self-sufficiency the old British Empire in 1750 was undoubtedly the most imposing politico-economic structure that the world had ever known."

Professor Labaree has brought within the limits of two volumes "the 20,000 to 25,000 articles comprising the entire collection of instructions, general, trade, and additional, which were issued to royal governors in America between 1670 and the Declaration of Independence. All the royal colonies in America during the period are included from Quebec and Nova Scotia to Bermuda and Barbados", only Newfoundland being omitted for particular reasons. The instructions are arranged topically, an extensive index has been provided, and in order to bring this enormous mass of material within reasonable compass a simple if somewhat tech-

nical method of presenting comments and cross-references has been devised. Little need be said further to indicate the importance to scholars of this collection. It makes readily available a great amount of valuable material, and in particular the compiler is to be commended for including not only the eight royal provinces which joined in the revolution but also the thirteen which remained within the empire. It is to be hoped that for the thirteen a similar collection may be carried beyond Mr. Labaree's terminal date of July 4, 1776.

The monograph on *The colonial agents of New England* throws light on a small but important corner of the political organization of the eighteenth-century empire. The activities of the colonial agents in London were many and varied and the importance of their work gave them a recognized status. The book has no direct bearing on Canadian history, but it has a comparative interest in view of the appointment of agents by the British North American provinces in the period after the American Revolution.

The remaining volumes in the list of titles have to do with the revolutionary period. Miss Sutherland has provided an elaborate study of the population of the thirteen colonies about the year 1775, based on available census returns or suitable substitutes for such returns. In addition to a bibliography, numerous statistical tables, and dot maps showing the distribution of population, the volume includes an extensive discussion of the chief factors controlling the growth and distribution of population. In connection with New York and the New England colonies there are a number of references to the fur trade, the wars with the French and Indians, and other points touching Canadian history.

Volume VIII of *Letters of members of the Continental Congress* brings this valuable collection to completion. Since the first volume appeared in 1921 the REVIEW has several times drawn attention to this series, and our readers are well aware of the nature of the material and the excellent work that has been done by the editors. The last two volumes contain numerous references bearing directly on such topics as the negotiation of the peace, the loyalists, the western posts, and the Indian trade. The importance of these letters ensures the series a permanent place in every library which includes the essential books for the history of Canada during the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Upton's book on New Hampshire during the American Revolution is one of definite interest to Canadian students. The colony was on the whole a conservative one, not inclined to turbulence in spite of its proximity to the storm centre, Boston. There were no active grievances against the British connection and the power and popularity of Governor Wentworth were a strong influence favouring the imperial tie. In the face of these and other circumstances, New Hampshire was turned within a few months from a loyal province into an active supporter of the revolutionary cause. The forces which were responsible for this change, the importance of the part played by a determined and active minority, the propaganda and other methods used to bring loyalty into disrepute are all described here in detail. The stage is a small one and full advantage is taken of the opportunity to bring the outlines of the drama into bold relief. Much that is characteristic of the American Revolution can here be seen in miniature. Readers of this REVIEW will find a special interest in the chapters on the downfall of royal government, the clash of political opinion, the suppression of the loyalists, and the advance in liberal ideas.

GEORGE W. BROWN

Catherine Tekakwitha. By DANIEL SARGENT. New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1936. Pp. viii, 246. (\$2.50)

French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States (1604-1791). By Sister MARY DORIS MULVEY. A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. (The Catholic University of America, Studies in American Church History, XXIII.) Washington: Catholic University of America. 1936. Pp. ix, 158.

CATHERINE TEKAKWITHA, the Iroquois maid, who became converted to Christianity in 1676, was the subject of two biographical sketches by missionaries who knew her personally. The present author lists both in his bibliography, but omits the English "life" by Ellen Walworth. Father Cholonec's version, written in 1717, was published in an abridged form in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* in 1914. Mr. Sargent's book, written in popular form, does not add to what is already known to students of the period. Nevertheless, in spite of minor errors, such as the reference to Membertou as an Etchemin instead of a Micmac, or the mistake in the number of Récollets who arrived at Quebec in 1615, the work is finely and dramatically conceived. Beginning with an analytical study of the Indian background, the story passes with increasing intensity through the recrudescence of faith in the counter-reformation, of which the missionary endeavour in North America was a phase, to the dramatic reception of grace by the Iroquois (of which the conversion of Tekakwitha was symbolic).

Giving due place to the struggle of the Iroquois for the position of middlemen in the fur trade, the story of the gradual leavening of Iroquois culture by the teaching of the Jesuits and by the infiltration of Algonkian and Huron captives adopted among them is well told. Although the author writes with insight of the spirit of the Iroquois league, he accepts uncritically Father Schmidt's assumption that the Algonkians conceived a "high god", whereas, except for the idea of supernatural beings as shown in their lore, they may have been limited to a vague conception of a pervasive mystery perceived in inexplicable natural phenomena. It conforms with the author's point of view to regard the Algonkians (Catherine's mother was an Algonkin) as unhappy and spiritually old with "waiting so long [for the faith] that they seemed to be expecting nothing". It is insufficient to assert that the Algonkian religion was deteriorating on the *a priori* ground that this must occur when religion is not crystallized into an ordered theology. Moreover, the public opinion of the Algonkian band was an unstormed tower of conservatism. Suggesting a process of devolution in native cultures, the author contends that the Iroquois material culture, which he derives from the Aztecs seemingly by direct contact rather than by cultural drift, was in decline, but does not support his contention by citing concrete instances. To assert that there was no other centre of cultural radiation than Mexico is to mistake the nature of the cultural processes.

Without having had recourse to archival research, Sister Mulvey has added a scholarly dissertation to the list of those published under the auspices of the Catholic University of America. Beginning with the establishment of the church in New France, the authoress has delineated successively the missionary ventures in colonial New England and Acadia, among the Iroquois, in the Old North West, the Illinois country, Louisiana, and in the present United States to 1791. The personnel, locations, and duration of the missions are given in detail, and the relative success in the various fields is estimated. Due to the "unapproachability" of the Five

Nations, the Iroquois mission was the greatest failure. The missions in the Ohio and Mississippi regions were hampered by a shortage of priests and the distance from Quebec. The Fox wars, and the general disturbance of the whole of the Old North West, are attributed to Cadillac's action in concentrating the tribes at Detroit in 1701. The continuity is shown between the French régime and the establishment of the church in the later United States, in which ecclesiastical *émigrés* from revolutionary France participated with distinction. The index and bibliography render this an admirable work of reference. ALFRED G. BAILEY

John Galt. By JENNIE W. ABERDEIN. Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xxiv, 209. (\$2.50)

THIS recent study of John Galt, the father of one of Canada's leading statesmen—Alexander Galt, and the promoter of the Canada Company—one of the most successful land-settlement schemes in Western Ontario, will be of interest to Canadians (especially to those with a Scottish background). As a biographical study and a literary appraisal of John Galt, the book shows evidence of careful research and critical judgment. It sympathetically but realistically portrays a man of unusual literary gifts, sensitive, imaginative, proud, ambitious, but ever torn between his commercial interests and his literary pursuits as a means of satisfying his urge to attain distinction and wealth. In view of his roving life and his widely varied interests, the amount and variety of Galt's writings are enormous, ranging from essays, *belles-lettres*, and historical studies to plays and poetry which altogether in a list of his published works run to about 155 separate titles. The author shows us a man of amazing versatility and energy, "brimming over with ideas and opinions"; but she has undoubtedly placed her finger on a reason for Galt's failure in many of his literary and commercial ventures when she says: "He lacked the power of selection. . . . He was constitutionally impatient of detail and would not limit himself to one object at a time." Also Galt had to contend for many years with ill health which was worsened as the result of a fall during his stay in Canada; while the accumulation of personal debts harassed him till his death and probably hastened it. In 1829 he was committed for about four months to the King's Bench prison because of his inability to pay a long standing debt for the education of his sons at a school in Reading; and within a year of his death in 1839 we find him still writing literary scraps to repay this debt.

While the main interest of this study is with the literary work of Galt, it includes a chapter on his connection with the Canada Company which from the point of view of the historian adds nothing that is new, though serving to raise a number of interesting problems which suggest that the inside history of the Canada Company still remains to be written. We would like to know, for example, just why Galt came to be interested in Canada, and how he came to be chosen in 1820 as London agent for those who were demanding compensation from the British government for losses suffered during the War of 1812. Then there was the complicated matter of the loan which Galt proposed to raise with government backing for the relief of the Canadian claimants. Eventually it turned out that while the British government would back the proposed loan, it insisted that Upper Canada should become jointly responsible for half of the amount. But was the modification of the original scheme by the government "a singular instance of double dealing and injustice"—as the author states, or was it the result of a quite possible misunderstanding on both sides to which Galt's over-confidence and carelessness of detail made him peculiarly susceptible? From this initial connection with Canadian affairs there finally emerged the Canada Company of which Galt

was secretary and one of the commissioners. But again we would like to know more about the problems that confronted Galt in this venture. Were Galt's difficulties principally due to dilatory and tape-bound officialdom at home, or to the jealousy of the government in Upper Canada under Sir Peregrine Maitland, who suspected Galt's religious and political soundness because of certain of his writings that the governor had once read? Then there was the problem of the clergy reserves claims which clashed with those of the Canada Company, and of Galt's relations with Strachan which are barely mentioned.

The admirable *Life and times of Sir Alexander T. Galt* by O. D. Skelton (Toronto, 1920), and R. K. Gordon's useful monograph on *John Galt* (Toronto, 1920) still remain the most valuable authorities on the history of the Canada Company; though from such letters as are quoted in the book under review, there may be gleaned scraps of information that have not been noted elsewhere and which suggest that much more of historical interest remains to be dug out of Galt's correspondence: as, for example, the fact that Galt's three sons participated in the Rebellion of 1837-8, though, as he observes with evident satisfaction, "they were on the right side" (i.e., for the government); or the fact that in 1826 Galt submitted a plan to the government for the federal union of the American provinces. Probably Galt's own estimate of the lasting worth of his career is not far from the truth when he wrote in 1834: "When my numerous books are forgotten I shall yet be remembered. . . . I contrived the Canada Company which will hereafter be spoken of among the eras of a nation destined to greatness."

ARTHUR GARRATT DORLAND

From Hummingbird to Eagle: An Account of North American Birds which Appear or Have Appeared in the County of Peel. By WM. PERKINS BULL. Published for the Wm. Perkins Bull Foundation in the Perkins Bull Historical Series. Toronto: George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1936. Pp. 303.

At first glance *From hummingbird to eagle* appears a curious volume to be included in a series on local history. A moment's reflection, however, may bring to mind a number of monographs about birds, notably one recently published by the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology on passenger pigeons,¹ in which much material of value to the social historian is to be found. The relation of bird life to the social and economic conditions of society is of real importance to the historian. Writers of local history who bear this fact in mind can contribute significantly to the general picture of social development. Similarly, ornithological studies of local areas may yield invaluable material for science, and, indeed, are basic to wider and more profound ornithological work. They may, also, if composed with an eye to the layman serve as genuine encouragement to further bird study in that region.

This book, unfortunately, falls short of either expectation. There is little of value to the historian, and what little there is does not refer to Peel county though the inference that it does might be drawn from the manner in which the material is presented, i.e., in the cases of citation from observations made by Mrs. Simcoe, Talbot, Gourlay (pp. 37-8), and Calvert (p. 129).

If, as the author suggests, this book is meant primarily to stimulate bird study in Peel county, ornithologists will scarcely agree that this is the proper book for that purpose. There are far too many factual errors in this work for it to prove other than misleading to bird students. A few sample statements will serve to

¹M. H. Mitchell, *The passenger pigeon in Ontario* (Toronto, 1935).

show what sort of mistakes there are: "The bird life of the 450-odd square miles known as Peel is really that of the North American continent" (p. 15); "It [the pileated woodpecker] is no longer likely to appear in Peel, as it has been driven almost entirely from southern Ontario" (pp. 157-8); "This bird [the American robin] is not to be confused with the English robin, being, apparently, of a quite distinct family" (p. 184). The use of antiquated illustrations is regrettable and several of the illustrations are likewise erroneous, e.g., a swallow for a swift (p. 152). The chief ornithological value of the book lies in the latter part (pp. 245-91), where the records of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology referring to Peel county are printed, and these are not properly acknowledged.

R. M. SAUNDERS

From the Boyne to Brampton or John the Orangeman at Home and Abroad. By WM. PERKINS BULL. (The Perkins Bull Historical Series.) Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1936. Pp. 366.

MR. PERKINS BULL's record of Peel county is again directed into social history in the extensive volume covering the activities of the Orange order in that county. In this, as in preceding volumes of the series, there is a minutiae of detail which, for an outside reader, may weary, but which, for the people of the county must be of fascinating interest with its hundreds of kindly references to members of the order and their families. There are seventeen chapters in all which fulfil the promise of the title and tell the story of the Orange order "from the Boyne to Brampton", and these are introduced or supplemented by the author's foreword, a prefatory note by Mr. H. C. Hocken, a critical introduction by Mr. J. H. Scott, an historical survey by Mr. A. H. Birmingham, a bibliography, a list of abbreviations, and an index. The lack of any footnotes will disappoint those who might wish the authority for quotations or statements. Author and publisher deserve credit for the paper, type, and general format of the volume, in every respect satisfying. There are four colour illustrations and nearly two hundred black and white illustrations and drawings.

Writers on Canadian history have hitherto been so engrossed with political and constitutional development that social history as such has received little attention. One might read half a dozen histories of Canada in succession without learning anything in particular of the activities or influence of the Orange order to which Mr. Bull has directed this extensive study. His volume is highly suggestive of the possibilities that lie in fields hitherto ignored or overlooked. The transfer of Orange principles and activities from Ireland to Upper Canada began at a very early date in the history of the province but Mr. Bull begins his county story with a meeting at the home of John Rutledge in the spring of 1820, out of which came Peel's first lodge. Two years later the first Orange parade was held in the town of York which, according to a contemporary newspaper, "was done in a manner highly creditable to themselves and which gave offence to no-one". It was not many years later, however, before Orange parades were to become a highly controversial issue in the province and eventually in 1843 the subject of prohibitory legislation. Mr. Bull attributes this legislation (by a Reform parliament) to antagonism arising out of Orange activities in the rebellion era. He gives also to the Orange lodges a large measure of credit for the suppression of the rebellion. It would be interesting to know whether the anti-Masonic agitations in the United States may not have had some indirect influence upon government policy in Upper Canada in the early thirties when voluntary dissolution was suggested.

There may be no other county in Ontario having a William Perkins Bull to organize and carry through such a monumental project as he has undertaken, but surely in the very fields which he is so industriously cultivating there is wide scope for the local historians elsewhere. One of the greatest values of the Peel county series may lie in the stimulus which it will give to investigations of a similar character.

FRED LANDON

Rail, Road and River. By W. W. SWANSON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1937. Pp. viii, 121. (\$1.50)

PROFESSOR SWANSON has written an interesting and concise essay on current problems of transportation, seen partly from an historical point of view. In places it is a little too concise for adequate explanations, as, for example, in the origins of the Intercolonial and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways. There are passages, too, with which not all readers will agree. No evidence is given for the statement that the Canadian Pacific was forced by the government to adopt a southern route. It is surprising to find the assertion that "the most casual reading of memoirs of those early days will indicate how little interest was taken in highway construction, except to the limited degree to which political and military needs made it advisable to provide land routes".

The core of the book is the development of the Canadian railway problem, which the author sees in terms of over-building. He feels that the Canadian Pacific was an example of foresight, while the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern were started from "feverish optimism". One wonders how many quotations from contemporary papers would show the Canadian Pacific as seen in a light of feverish optimism in the seventies and eighties. However, as he quite reasonably points out, the Canadian Pacific is a success and a valuable asset to the country. Accepting over-building as a fact, he then turns to solutions, and finds that that proposed by Sir Edward Beatty seems feasible. Mr. Swanson is not quite ready to give this solution his unqualified support, but he makes out a strong case for it, and holds that no one has made an alternative suggestion of value.

His chapters on the solution of the highway problem and the waterway problem seem a little inconclusive (as they might well be), and one is somewhat disappointed after seeing such encouraging titles to the chapters. The general argument is that too much money has been spent on transportation, and that there must be a drastic curtailment of the existing machinery. If this is a volume that contains some controversial material, it is all the more stimulating for that.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

The Royal Canadian Regiment, 1883-1933. By R. C. FETHERSTONHAUGH. Montreal: Gazette Printing Company. [London, Ont.: The Royal Canadian Regiment, Wolseley Barracks.] 1936. Pp. [xvi], 467.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH has undoubtedly done more for Canadian military history than any other man. For this latest of his unit histories he used the official documents at Ottawa, certain private papers, and the material readily available in print—in all perhaps three-quarters of the possible sources. Consultation of the other quarter is rightly left to another time or other persons, the immediate need being for a reliable general account for the public. The arrangement and allotment of the material show the author's good sense of organization and judgment, and he provides a clear readable story from first to last. He carries the regiment

from its formation, through the North-west Rebellion, duties in the Yukon, the South African War, the Great War, and the interval of peace to date.

Mr. Fetherstonhaugh is content with description, no doubt feeling a civilian's diffidence before technical military material, but the narrative raises a number of questions, especially in the section on the North-west Rebellion. Why General Middleton remained in camp two weeks after the affair of Fish creek; who were the *aliens* of the ship *Northcote* who hampered its operations; why the timing of the land and water attacks on Batoche broke down so badly; why the necessity for three days' indecisive fighting at the town; why Otter, planning to surprise the Indians at Cut Knife creek by a night march and finding himself a mile short of his objective at dawn, yet made the attack at great risk when he could do no good: all these are left to conjecture. Likewise in the section on the Great War, one would like to know who was responsible for the appallingly bad staff work that led to the disaster of Zollern Graben, on September 16, 1916; and what excess of folly overcame the patrol of five men who courted and received destruction on a bridge near Mons. Such points should be considered before a valuation of the regiment's work can be complete.

W. B. KERR

The Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians. By FRANZ BOAS. Part I: *Texts*. Part II: *Translations*. (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. X.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. xviii, 284; viii, 288. (\$10.00 two volumes)

As Professor Boas himself explains in the preface, these two volumes must not be regarded as complete in themselves, but as part of the irregular series which he has been publishing on the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver island for over forty years. It was in 1893 that he began to teach Mr. George Hunt, a half-breed Indian who had grown up among the Kwakiutl, to record native texts of all kinds in phonetic script; the experiment was wonderfully successful, and for years Hunt forwarded long manuscripts which Boas checked, compared, and supplemented before editing for publication. These two volumes are part of the material thus obtained.

The first volume comprises actual texts in phonetic script. Their value is largely linguistic, and the author's scientific accuracy is clearly shown in his careful prefatory analysis of his informant's abilities and defects as a recorder of Kwakiutl sounds. Undoubtedly, they are not perfect transcriptions of spoken Kwakiutl, but anyone familiar with the difficulties of recording native languages—and especially those having the complex phonetics found in British Columbia—will be grateful for texts as good as these. The second volume is a literal translation of the first. The material deals with various aspects of Kwakiutl religion, shamanistic practices, myths describing the acquisition of power, dances, charms, prayers, medicines, and miscellaneous experiences. It is not arranged into a coherent whole; in fact, this would be impossible while maintaining literal translations of accounts which are frequently rambling and that require references to earlier publications for their elucidation. This method of presentation may be regarded as the anthropological equivalent to the historian's publication of source-material—letters, documents, or journals; it has the advantages of objectiveness and freedom from personal bias, but the disadvantage of lack of cohesion. Professor Boas's emphasis has always been on the recording of accurate detail, without which, of course, no summing-up is possible, but anthropologists (and still more the

general reader) will hope that he will eventually describe Kwakiutl religion as a whole; the material is available in his meticulous and thorough publications, but he is surely the best one to synthesize and evaluate it.

The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life. By DIAMOND JENNESS. (Canada, Department of Mines, National Museum, Bulletin 78, Anthropological Series, no. 17.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1935. Pp. 115.

SEVEN years ago, in commenting upon Miss Densmore's *Chippewa customs*¹ the reviewer remarked² on its value for understanding the Chippewa or Ojibwa of northern Ontario, even though it dealt with the Minnesota branch of that widespread people. Jenness's study of the people of Parry island, Georgian bay, will henceforth be the one referred to by students and others who wish to learn the beliefs and sentiments, the mode of life and thought of the Algonkian hunters of northern Ontario. Not only does it deal with a Canadian group, but it is, within the range of its subject, more comprehensive than any previous work. The title of the volume clearly indicates its scope. After describing the fundamentals of social and economic life, the author deals with Ojibwa theology, emphasizing the effects of belief upon behaviour and the methods of appeal to supra-human powers, and finally following the individual from birth to death. Much of his material is new; much more gives thorough accounts and interpretations of practices previously known only in part. Among the most interesting descriptions is that of the essential unity of all nature, in which animals, birds, trees, inanimate objects, man, and even "supernatural" beings share in the same pattern of existence. Equally important is his classification of Parry island medicine men, which provides data for a study of the diffusion of magico-religious beliefs by comparisons with other Algonkian tribes. A flaw in presentation is the failure to use phonetic script for Ojibwa names, nor is there an explanation of the sounds represented by the ordinary letters of the English alphabet. As a minor point, the reviewer questions the desirability of raising the vexed question of Algonkian hunting areas (p. 4), in a factual description of the life of a single group.

The scientific study of Canadian Indians falls under the aegis of the dominion department of mines and resources. It is perhaps inevitable that economy measures have curtailed or delayed the publication of anthropological manuscripts, but it is greatly to be hoped that the issuing of this volume will shortly be followed by others. The fundamental importance of the scientific study of man and his culture is generally recognized, but it is not so clearly realized how much of the data on human behaviour comes from a study of so-called primitive peoples. As Indian culture disappears, so vanish facts which, once lost, can never be regained. *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry island* sets a high standard, complimentary alike to its author and his Indian informants. Similar studies of other tribes should be the objective of the dominion government.

T. F. McILWRAITH

¹Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 86 (Washington, 1929).

²CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI, 1930, 81.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

(The contribution of information suitable for this section is welcomed.)

HISTORICAL BROADCASTS

In the June issue of the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (p. 215) a short account was given of the discussion on historical broadcasts at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. At the request of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation an advisory committee, representative of all parts of the Dominion, was appointed by the association. The first fruits of this co-operation will be a series of broadcasts over the national network entitled "Canadians we should not forget". It is expected that the series will begin on Thursday, September 30, at 10.30 p.m. E.S.T., and that it will run through the winter.

The series on "Historic roads of Ontario", which was given in May and June last, proved to be a successful experiment. A number of requests for copies of the scripts were received and in some cases the scripts were printed in local newspapers.

SURVEY OF CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The division of economics and history of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has included in its annual report for 1936 an informative description of the study of Canadian-American relations which has now been under way for several years. Dr. James T. Shotwell, the director of the division, points out that the Carnegie Endowment is approaching the problem in various ways. "It has set going a series of international conferences at which current problems are discussed; it has brought together specialists and leaders of public opinion; and is preparing a number of monographic studies dealing with various aspects of Canadian-American relations." Two conferences have been held: one at St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y., in 1935, and another at Queen's University in June of this year. "But the chief and lasting contribution of this effort at the clarification of Canadian-American relations lies in the monographs which are being prepared for publication. The present plan calls for some forty-four volumes." The report indicates the nature of a number of them. They will be reviewed in this journal as they appear. Dr. Shotwell, in emphasizing the value of the survey, points out not only the intimacy of the relations of the two countries, but also the fact that the century of peace has been maintained in spite of numerous episodes of friction. "The correction of historical perspectives in matters of this kind is now engaging the attention of a very considerable coöperative enterprise of Canadian and American historians. Alongside their work economists, sociologists and jurists are laying the basis for a new approach to the whole study of the civilization of these two North American countries, the interplay of their cultures, their economic interdependence, and their political affiliations."

CONTRIBUTORS

The authors of the articles in this issue of the *REVIEW* are Dr. Howard M. Chapin, F.R. Hist. S., librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Mr. Frank E. Ross of Washington, D.C., who was for some years on the staff of the *Dictionary of American biography*; and Dr. C. P. Stacey of Princeton University. The note on Alexander Mackenzie's literary assistant is by Mr. Franz Montgomery

of the department of English, University of Minnesota. We are again much indebted to Professor W. P. M. Kennedy of the University of Toronto for the review article. This is the eighth annual article on this subject which the REVIEW has had from Professor Kennedy.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW will be pleased to supply information with regard to books or publishers mentioned in its pages.)

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW began in its last issue this section of book-notes, the chief purpose of which is to give suggestions with regard to books which will keep teachers in touch with significant developments in the various fields of history which are ordinarily included in the curricula of Canadian high schools. In June there were notes on recent books in Canadian history and European history. In this issue there are notes on Ancient history and on English history since the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is planned in future to have bibliographical notes not only on countries but on topics such as the contributions of the Greco-Roman world to European civilization, the industrial revolution, post-war diplomacy, problems of Canadian federalism. It will be possible also to give individual titles of books suitable for supplementary reading; and, in fact, any information will be given which it is felt will be useful to teachers of history who are interested in building up libraries for themselves or their schools. In particular we shall, where possible, mention reliable books of not too great bulk and of moderate price. Comments which have already been received indicate that these book-notes may be made to serve a useful purpose. Suggestions or requests which will assist towards that end will be welcomed. The REVIEW is endeavouring to obtain the co-operation of a number of teachers of history whose experience will be of value.

Selected titles in Ancient history. Many publications on various aspects of Greco-Roman civilization have recently appeared of which it is possible to give only a very small selection here. Methuen's *History of the Greek and Roman world* which is to be completed in seven volumes, now runs to five (15/- each), the periods represented by the two volumes still in preparation being 776-479 B.C. in the Greek, and 30 B.C.-138 A.D. in the Roman, world. It is smaller in compass and price than the great *Cambridge ancient history* (1923-36) whose twelve large (and fairly expensive) volumes, although they are likely to remain a standard work for some time, are not ideal for the average school library, but is quite complete and embodies the results of recent research. Each volume presents in addition to the main narrative a discussion of the social, economic, scientific, and artistic trends of the period with which it deals, and supplies an adequate and up-to-date bibliography. *European civilization*, edited by Eyre (Oxford) contains in volume I (1934, \$8.75) a brilliant history of Greece, and in volume II (1935, \$5.25) a splendid history of Rome. The section on the imperial period is not a narrative of events but a penetrating analysis of the government, society, economics, and church history of the first four centuries A.D. Among the many titles in Kegan Paul's growing series *History of civilization*, *Ancient Greece at work* (1926, 16/-) an economic history of Greece by G. Glotz, *Art in Greece* (1927, 21/-), a history of Greek art by Deonna and de Ridder, and V. Chapot's survey of every aspect of life in the provinces of the Roman Empire, *The Roman world* (1928, 16/-), may be taken as

typical. R. J. Bonner gives a lucid exposition of the working of Athenian government in *Aspects of Athenian democracy* (Univ. of California Press, 1933, \$2.25). *Alexander the Great* by V. Wilcken (Chatto and Windus, 1932, 15/-) is an excellent account of the character, life, and policy of the brilliant Macedonian, and contains an admirable summary of the permanent results of his imperialism. Three volumes dealing respectively with republican Italy, Roman Egypt, and the western provinces (Britain, Spain, Sicily, Gaul) have appeared in the *Economic survey of ancient Rome* edited by T. Frank (Johns Hopkins Univ., 1933, \$3, \$4, \$4). This work taking a fairly wide view of economic history, deals, among other topics, with taxation, both central and local, economic administration, commodity prices, commerce, industry and transportation, methods of production, and the life of individual workmen and societies. The original sources, literary and documentary, which form the basis of the work are fully given in translation. For the intelligent teacher this survey should prove a quarry of useful and interesting material. Three Roman biographies of note may be mentioned: *Julius Caesar* by J. Buchan (Peter Davies, 1932, 5/-), *Augustus* by Winspear and Geweke (Univ. of Wisconsin, 1935, \$2), and *Claudius* by A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1934, 6/-). The first is a brief but brilliant essay on the greatest of the Romans which regards Caesar and his aspirations in the perspective of world history and comes to the conclusion that he performed "The greatest constructive task ever achieved by human hands"; the second, in spite of some regrettable errors in reference, is possibly the best monograph on Augustus's reconstruction of Roman government and society—his biography from 30 B.C. to his death; the last may be an antidote to the popular novel, *I, Claudius*. Since interest has been shown by teachers in pictures to illustrate ancient history, reference may be made to two collections. The four *Volumes of plates* (1927-30) for the *Cambridge ancient history* (25/-, 9/-, 12/6, 12/6 respectively) with the volume still to be published, illustrate the whole course of history in the ancient world and supply adequate commentary. *Hellas und Rom* by Bossert (Berlin, Wasmuth, 1936, 7/6), a volume of photographs with a brief introduction, illustrates every phase of ancient public and private life. Although the introduction and the titles of the pictures are in German, this book should be of great interest to the high-school student, giving as it does an intimate view of the life (rather than the history) of ancient Greece and Rome. (M. ST. A. WOODSIDE)

Selected titles in English history since the sixteenth century. Among recent publications on English history, the most outstanding work is the new "Oxford history of England", a co-operative work, under the editorship of Professor G. N. Clark, which will, when completed, extend to fourteen volumes. In the modern period four of these volumes have now been published; J. B. Black, *The reign of Elizabeth* (1936, 12/6); Godfrey Davies, *The early Stuarts* (1937, 12/6); G. N. Clark, *The later Stuarts* (1934, 12/6); and R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870 to 1914* (1936, 15/-). These books are invaluable as works of reference. They are supplied with good bibliographies; they embody the results of the extensive research which has been carried on in recent years by English and American scholars; and their view of history is much broader than that presented in earlier series of the kind. A great deal of space in each of them is given to social, economic, and intellectual development. A smaller series, having more the character of text-books has recently been published, or rather republished, by Nelson. There are four volumes in the series, covering the period 1485 to 1688; C. H. Williams, *The making of the Tudor despotism* (1935, 7/6, 2/6); A. Browning, *The age of Elizabeth* (1935, 7/6, 2/6); J. D. Mackie, *Cavalier and puritan* (1936, 7/6); and A. S. Turberville, *Common-*

wealth and restoration (1936, 7/6). These books were originally published in 1928, and many readers may already be familiar with them; but they have all been completely revised during the last two years, and the new edition is a great improvement on the older. The emphasis is mainly on political and constitutional development, but a good deal of space is given in each volume to social and economic changes. The interpretation is not strikingly new, but together they present a clear, straightforward, and thoroughly readable account of two of the most critical centuries in English history. The two volumes on the Stuart period do not replace some earlier work on the constitutional struggle. J. R. Tanner, *English constitutional conflicts in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928, \$6), remains the most valuable work on this aspect of the period. Reference should also be made to A. Bryant, *The England of Charles II* (Longmans, Green, 1934, \$2), a brilliant account of social and intellectual conditions during a period when the old and new in English life were being merged to form the characteristic civilization of the eighteenth century. On the later part of the modern period, J. A. Spender, *Great Britain, empire and commonwealth* (Cassell, 1936, 10/6), stands out among recent publications. It is narrowly political in scope, and distinctly Liberal in outlook, but within those limits, interesting, informative, and thorough. F. Hardie, *The political influence of Queen Victoria* (Oxford, 1935, 8/6), is a valuable little book on a subject which has not yet lost any of its importance. One or two biographies, out of the great mass which has appeared in recent years, must be mentioned. John Buchan's *Cromwell* (Houghton, 1934, \$4.50) is by every test the greatest of them. It has become indispensable to an understanding of Cromwell and the Puritan revolution. Sir Charles Petrie's *Four Georges* (Eyre, 1936, 12/6), is more than biographical. In addition to a study of the Hanoverian rulers, it is an attempt at revaluation of the eighteenth century; frankly Tory in outlook but fair and candid in its judgments, it presents the history of the eighteenth century in a new and interesting light. G. M. Trevelyan, *Grey of Fallodon* (Houghton, 1937, \$3.75), is a highly important contribution to the history of the present century (see note p. 351). (D. J. McDUGALL)

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

McGill University Library. The Panet manuscripts consist of a small collection of documents mainly concerned with Jean Antoine Panet. The earliest is his appointment as barrister and attorney at law of 1773 by Cramahé. This is followed by his appointment as notary public in 1781 signed by Governor Haldimand, and by his commissions as captain (1789) and then lieutenant-colonel (1794) in the militia signed by Lord Dorchester. There are also his summons to the legislative council in 1813 and again in 1815 signed by Prevost, and a very interesting bond of 1808 certifying that he has been duly elected to the legislative assembly for the county of Huntingdon. There is a group of invitations sent to M. Panet from various distinguished personages such as Lord Dalhousie, Lord Milne, Colonel Simcoe, Sir George Prevost, and others. A small group of family letters includes one from Colonel De Salaberry addressed in 1816 to Ensign Panet in regard to his commission. Finally, among a number of documents of lesser importance, there is a copy of the very rare extra issue of the Quebec *Mercury* of Sunday, June 3, giving full details of the Fenian invasion of Canada.

Since these papers have come into the possession of McGill University, they will be properly calendared, mounted, and bound in a folio volume under the title "The Panet manuscripts".

Queen's University Library has recently added a very scarce edition of Les-carbot's *Nova Francia*; that published at Augsburg by Chrysostomo Dabertzhofen in 1613. The little volume measures 19½ x 15 cm., and has four pages preliminary, one blank, and eighty-six pages of text. The title is in red and black with the printer's mark on the title-page. It contains no more than the first two books of the edition of 1609; for the most part in a summary.

The library has also recently acquired an important collection of maps of Canada, nearly two hundred in number. It includes the depictions by Ortelius, dated 1571, 1579, and 1590; the maps of Cluver, 1615; Hondius, 1631; and Janson, 1641. Its chief value, from the historical point of view, is a series of more than one hundred eighteenth-century maps, French and English, by which the course of empire and exploration is graphically shown. Special cases are being constructed for the collection.

During the period of the summer school a series of small exhibitions has been given in the reading room. Some of the most important of the books in the library have been brought from the treasure room and displayed.

Victoria University Library. The celebration of the centenary of the founding of Victoria University, Toronto, has drawn attention to the valuable collection of historical documents in the possession of the Victoria library. The most important single item are the papers of Egerton Ryerson which provide the basis for the recently published volume by Professor C. B. Sissons (reviewed in our last issue, page 210), but the collection, which has grown gradually over a period of about a century, is large and varied and includes both printed and manuscript materials. The library board now plans to build it up in a more systematic fashion, and to make it more fully available to students.

The development and influence of the various religious bodies deserves a much more important place in the writing of Canadian history than it has so far received and the Victoria Library has the opportunity to make a significant contribution in this connection by collecting materials bearing on the United Church and the denominations which have been merged in it. To promote the historical collection there was organized on April 22 a society to be known as "the friends of the library", and in June the first issue of the "Victoria Library Bulletin" was published. "The purpose of this publication, which will be issued two or three times in the course of a year, is to make the resources of the Library more generally known. Research students, teachers, friends of the Library, those interested in the history of Ontario and in the history of the influence of religious life in this country, will find presented in this series an account of materials for historical study that are available in Victoria University. Here also will be acknowledged and described such important acquisitions as the Library may from time to time secure. Those who are interested in the nature of this historical collection, but who cannot visit the Library, may consult the files of this publication, or apply for information directly to the Librarian."

A short description of some of the principal materials in the Victoria collection will be published in a later issue of this REVIEW.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

British Columbia Historical Association. President, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb; vice-president, Dr. J. S. Plaskett; hon. secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; hon. treasurer, E. W. McMullen; archivist, Dr. R. L. Reid. Permanent address, c/o Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.

British Columbia Historical Association: Vancouver Section. At the first annual dinner meeting held on April 30, Judge F. W. Howay spoke on "The work of the historic sites and monuments board of Canada in British Columbia". There were over seventy-five members of the section present.

British Columbia Historical Association: Victoria Section. Sir Charles Piers was speaker at a meeting of the section held on May 7. His subject was "The early days of the overland fur trade". On May 18 a joint meeting was held with the historical committee of the British Columbia conference of the United Church. Dr. Kaye Lamb spoke on "A day in the life of an archivist", describing a visit to Saltspring island, and outlining its history; the Rev. A. E. Roberts told about the first Methodist conference held in British Columbia; and the Rev. W. Stott gave an interesting account of early days in Cariboo and North Vancouver. President, Dr. T. A. Rickard; first vice-president, John Goldie; hon. secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; hon. treasurer, George S. McTavish.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association has published its annual report for 1935-6. The articles printed therein are included in our List of recent publications. President general, the Rev. Edward Kelly; first vice-president general, Pierre Georges Roy. *English section:* President, the Rev. J. B. O'Reilly; secretary, James F. Kenney, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. *French section:* President, Pierre Georges Roy; secretary, M. Séraphin Marion, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

The Canadian Institute of International Affairs has issued its annual report for 1936-7, and the second number of its four-page *C.I.I.A. notes*. These *Notes*, containing current information concerning the activities of the institute, will be published quarterly.

Cape Sable Historical Society. Corresponding secretary, Mrs. George F. Richan, Barrington Passage, N.S.

The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, at its third quarterly meeting on August 3, unveiled a bronze tablet to the memory of the late Mr. L. M. Fortier, honorary superintendent of Fort Anne national park, 1917-33, and founder of the Historical Society of Annapolis Royal and of the museum at Fort Anne national park. Dr. J. C. Webster spoke of the career of Mr. Fortier, prefacing his address with remarks on "The renaissance of history in the last twenty years in the Maritimes". Colonel Eaton announced the purchase of a part of Champlain's gardens, the gift of Edwin S. Fickes; and Mrs. F. A. Richardson of Cambridge, Mass., gave a description and history of the gardens. Dr. James C. Martell then addressed the meeting, his subject being, "The settlers from New England in the Maritime Provinces, previous to the American Revolution".

The Irish Historical Society of Canada has been organized at Ottawa, with Dr. James F. Kenney as first president.

The Kent Historical Society was instrumental in making arrangements for the unveiling on September 26, 1936, of a cairn with tablet, erected by the historic sites and monuments board, five miles from Chatham, to mark the site of the engagement which took place on December 15, 1813, when a small company of the provincial dragoons, Kent, Middlesex, and Norfolk militia, surprised and captured an enemy outpost.

Kingston Historical Society. Murney Tower, already a museum, has been reconditioned by the society, and its contents rearranged. Fort Henry was opened to visitors for a week last summer under the supervision of the society. Over 8,000 people took advantage of the opportunity to visit this historic site. The reconstruction of the fort and the development of a museum are now in progress, and at present small parties are allowed to view the fort by special permission. St. Paul's churchyard was put in order as a result of the society's efforts. In 1938, the society plans to co-operate with the municipality in the celebration of the centenary of Kingston's charter. Considerable material of historical interest has been collected by Mr. E. E. Horsey and the society is considering ways and means for its publication. The Kingston *Whig-standard* recently printed an article by Mr. Ronald Way on "Old Fort Henry". An interesting development in the society's activities has been the formation of a junior branch. Members are of school age and they have undertaken the following projects: Relief model of old Kingston showing points of interest at old Fort Henry; photographic records of the restoration of Fort Henry; scrap-book of general historic interest; an attempt to start a library of old books to be kept in Simcoe house as a nucleus for a museum. The curator of Murney Tower is Kenneth Clarke, secretary-treasurer of the junior branch (393 Brock Street). Various members assist him as guides of the tower. The president of the junior branch is Fraser Metcalfe. President of the society, Professor R. G. Trotter; secretary, Miss S. M. Carr-Harris. [S. M. CARR-HARRIS]

The Okanagan Historical Society has published its *Seventh report*, which will be reviewed later in our List of recent publications.

The *Ontario Historical Society*, on the invitation of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, will hold its annual meeting in that city on Thursday and Friday, September 23 and 24. General Cruikshank is to speak on "The invasion of Navy island", and three papers will deal with events of 1837. The open meeting on the evening of the 23rd is to be addressed by Mr. H. P. Hill, K.C., and by Mr. Louis Blake Duff. A visit to the Public Archives is included in the programme.

Saint Boniface Historical Society. Under the auspices of the society the unveiling took place on July 26, 1936, of a cairn with tablet, erected by the historic sites and monuments board adjacent to the Jefferson highway in the village of Letellier, to mark the ancient war road of the Sioux leading to the Lake of the Woods.

Similkameen Historical Association. The July meeting was well attended, and preparations were made for the annual supper gathering to be held in September. [JOHN GOODFELLOW]

La Société d'Histoire Régionale de Québec was founded on February 15, 1937, with the object of extending its activities to the counties of Charlevoix, Montmorency, Quebec, Portneuf, Lotbinière, Lévis, Bellechasse, and Montmagny. The following officers have been elected: president, Justice Romeo Langlais; vice-presidents, the Abbé P. Gravel, M. Elphège Bois; directors, the Rev. L. Lajoie, the Rev. Conrad, the Abbé G. L. Pelletier, the Abbé Albert Delisle, M. O.-B. Filteau; secretary, Sylvio Dumas; assistant-secretary, Philippe Lavoie; treasurer, C. Plamondon; archivist, Valère Desjardins; assistant-archivist, the Abbé Paul-E. Gosselin; librarian, J.-W. Caron; assistant-librarian, Loyola Létourneau. The secretary's office is at Laval University, Quebec.

Société Historique de Sherbrooke. A small volume of papers given before the society on May 18, 1936, by M. Alphonse Cauchon, has been published under the title *Lac Mégantic: La Compagnie Nantaise; Le chemin de fer, 1879-1936.*

La Société Historique du Saguenay has published at Chicoutimi a small book entitled *Ici ont passé . . . : Le monument du Coteau du Portage*, which contains an historical note on the monument recently erected in memory of the missionaries, explorers, and traders of the Saguenay region.

Société Historique et Littéraire Acadienne. President, Omer LeGresley; first vice-president, Henri Blanchard; second vice-president, Clarence Cormier; secretary-archivist, the Abbé J.-A. Allard; treasurer, the Abbé J.-J.-V. Gaudet; advisers, D.-T. Robichaud, the Abbé A. Cormier, Gaspard Boucher, Alfred Roy. Permanent address: Université Saint-Joseph, Saint Joseph, New Brunswick.

Société Trifluvienne d'Histoire Régionale. The members of the society continue to collaborate in preparing and publishing historical studies under the title "Pages trifluviennes". The last volume to appear is the history of the parish of Saint Justin by the Abbé Hermann Plante. In July the society is going to organize an historical pilgrimage to Cap de la Madeleine. President, Mtre L.-D. Durand; vice-president, the Abbé Henri Vallée; secretary, the Abbé Albert Tessier; treasurer, Robert Trudel.

South Okanagan Historical Society. The president, Mr. R. N. Atkinson, Penticton, B.C., had several articles on local archaeology published in the *Penticton Herald* in April, 1937.

The *Thompson Valley Historical Association* is taking an active part in the preparations for the 125th anniversary celebrations in Kamloops, B.C. An effort is being made to secure copies of all available fur-trade journals and other early records relating to the history of the community. The new historical museum, which has been organized by the association, was opened on July 1. It is housed in a building from old Fort Kamloops, which has been re-erected in Riverside park. A souvenir booklet has just been issued by the celebrations committee.

The *York Pioneer and Historical Society* has published its annual report for 1936. The secretary's report shows a successful year and a membership of 793. The society's museum at Sharon received a number of interesting presentations during the season. President, Dr. Emerson Bull, Lambton Mills, Ont.; secretary, N. F. Caswell, 124 Spruce Hill road, Toronto.

York-Sunbury Historical Society, Fredericton, N.B. Eight articles on local history by members of the society were published in local newspapers during 1936.

Erratum. On page 222 of the June issue of the *REVIEW*, we listed the "Kelowna Museum and Archives Association". This should be the "Okanagan Museum and Archives Association".

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science; R.S.C.—Royal Society of Canada; S.R.C.—Société royale du Canada.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

DEACON, W. A. *Canada's national policy* (Canadian magazine, LXXXVII (1), Jan., 1937, 15, 40-1). The position of Canada in relation to Great Britain is considered.

EMMINGER, D. *Über den Wirkungsgrad der Handelspolitik: Eine Untersuchung über die Folgen der Ottawa-Verträge* (Vierteljahrshefte zur Konjunkturforschung, XI, Teil A, Heft 4, 1937, 391-421).

Empire day and coronation dinner (United empire, XXVIII (6), June, 1937, 342-9). Extracts from speeches made by the prime ministers and representatives of India and the colonies at the dinner organized by the Combined Empire Societies.

HANCOCK, W. K. *Survey of British Commonwealth affairs*. Vol. I: *Problems of nationality, 1918-1936*. With a supplementary legal chapter by R. T. E. LATHAM. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 673. (\$7.50) See p. 322.

HODSON, H. V. *Ottawa and after* (Lloyds Bank monthly review, VIII, Feb., 1937, 62-70).

Imperial conference, 1937. *Summary of proceedings*. (Cmd. 5482.) London: H.M.S.O. 1937. Pp. 71. (1s. 1d.) A review of the subjects discussed at the meetings of the delegates, together with the statements made at the opening and closing of the conference.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. "*British possessions*" (University of Toronto law journal, II (1), Lent term, 1937, 114-6). A discussion of this term from a legal point of view.

Canada and the abdication act (University of Toronto law journal, II (1), Lent term, 1937, 114-6). A note on legal aspects of the Statute of Westminster.

L., H. *The imperial conference: Problems of foreign policy and defence* (Bulletin of international news, XIII (26), June 26, 1937, 3-7).

MACINNES, C. M. *An intellectual link of empire* (United empire, XXVIII (6), June, 1937, 333-5). The author stresses the need for fostering intellectual and cultural unity among the British peoples.

MARKAU, K. *Das Ottawa-Abkommen und seine handelspolitischen Tendenzen im Hinblick auf dessen Erneuerung* (Deutsche Wirtschafts-Zeitung, XXXIV, 8 April, 1937, 406-10).

MAYER, ANTON. *Aufstieg zur Weltmacht: Entstehung, Entwicklung, Vollendung des britischen Weltreiches*. Berlin: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses G.M.B.H., Halle (Saale). 1936. Pp. viii, 331. (RM. 5.80) To be reviewed later.

MICKWITZ, E. v. *Die ökonomischen Grundlagen des Empires* (Wirtschaftsdienst, XXII, 21 Mai, 1937, 719-22).

MOORE, H. NAPIER. *The imperial conference* (Maclean's magazine, L (13), 11, 53). Comments on the 1937 conference.

Ottawa section (Economist, CXXVII, May 1, 1937, 262-71). Includes the agreements of 1932, and facts concerning the development of imperial preference since that date, and the course of trade within and without the empire.

- PARES, RICHARD. *The economic factors in the history of the empire* (Economic history review, VII (2), May, 1937, 119-44). A discussion of the economic motives of imperial expansion and exploitation, with a description of the successive theories of empire. The author's conclusion is that "imperialism is above all a process—and, to some degree, a policy—which aims at developing complementary relations between high industrial technique in one land and fertile soils in another".
- ST.-JOHNSTON, SIR THOMAS REGINALD. *From a colonial governor's note-book*. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1936. Pp. 285. Sir Reginald St.-Johnston, governor of the Leeward islands, gives a personal record of the work and development of the colonial service. One chapter contains reminiscences of a holiday in Canada.
- SCHWOB, PH. *La politique impériale britannique* (Europe nouvelle, XX, 22 mai, 1937, 487-9). Deals with the Ottawa conference.
- WOODSIDE, WILLSON. *Where Britain stands with the empire* (Canadian magazine, LXXXVII (5), May, 1937, 20, 48-51).

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- ANGUS, H. F. *Are we at war?* (Dalhousie review, XVII (2), July, 1937, 147-54). A new definition of war and a discussion of Canada's policy.
- BRUCHESI, JEAN. *Defense and French Canada* (Maclean's magazine, L (12), June 15, 1937, 17, 33). This article, the third in a series discussing the relation between Canadian and empire defence, presents the French-Canadian point of view.
- BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *Peacemakers in America: The work of the international joint commission* (School, XXV (6), Feb., 1937, 467-74).
- CORBETT, P. E. *The settlement of Canadian-American disputes: A critical study of methods and results*. (The relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, division of economics and history.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. vi, 134. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- COX, I. J. *The vacancy at Buenos Aires* (World affairs, C, March, 1937, 55-6). Relates to Canada and the Pan-American Union.
- KROUT, JOHN A. (ed.). *The foreign policy of the United States* (Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XVII (3), May, 1937, iv, 134). A series of addresses and papers presented at the semi-annual meeting of the academy of political science, April 7, 1937.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *External policy and internal problems* (University of Toronto quarterly, VI (3), April, 1937, 326-37). An analysis of the statistical and racial situation in Canada in connection with the line of action Canada should follow in the event of a European war.
- MACDERMOT, T. W. L. *The highway of peace* [Ottawa]. (Bound pamphlets on world peace, no. 253.) Ottawa: League of Nations Society in Canada. 1935. Pp. 113.
- MANNING, WILLIAM R. (ed.). *Diplomatic correspondence of the United States: Inter-American affairs, 1831-1860*. Vol. VII: *Great Britain, Documents 2672-3127*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1936. Pp. xxxii, 785. (\$5.00) Four matters of significance for Canadian history in the larger setting of North American affairs are alluded to in this volume. *Reciprocity*: Webster's fear in 1850, expressive of general opinion, that reciprocity would give greater advantages to Canada than to the United States. *Independence of Canada*: a report from Edward Everett in London in 1849 that English sentiment in favour of Canadian independence would increase if it were known that Canada would remain separate from the United States. *Crimean war recruiting*: correspondence concerning the recall of Crampton and certain British consuls in the United States. *Oregon and Mexico*: belief that Mexico had been encouraged not to settle her differences with the United States until a settlement of the Oregon boundary had

been reached, and a rumour of a shipment of arms to Canada for purposes of aggressive action from Canada in case of war between the United States and Great Britain. [A. B. COREY]

Report on the work of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1936-1937. Toronto: 43 St. George Street. The University of Toronto Press. 1937. Pp. 43.

SANDWELL, B. K. *Canada and the Anglo-American entente* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (3), summer, 1937, 245-55). The military policy of Canada in relation to Britain and the United States is discussed.

SÉBILLEAU, PIERRE. *Le Canada et la doctrine de Monroe: Etude historique sur l'influence de l'impérialisme américain dans l'évolution de l'Empire britannique.* Préface de PATRICK BURY. Paris: Sirey. 1937. Pp. viii, 219. To be reviewed later.

SETSER, VERNON G. *The commercial reciprocity policy of the United States 1774-1829.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 305. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

SIEGFRIED, ANDRÉ. *Canada's foreign policy* (Fortnightly, CXL, Dec., 1936, 661-70). *La politique étrangère du Canada* (France-Amérique, XXVIII (306), juin, 1937, 89-95). M. Siegfried approaches this question from three angles: 1. The relations between Canada and the United States; 2. The relations between Canada and Great Britain; 3. Canada's international relations.

Le problème canadien et l'Amérique (Revue de Paris, 44e année, 1 janv., 1937, 5-21). Discusses the problem created by Canada's position in the new world and her political affiliations with the old.

Le statut international du Canada (Revue d'histoire politique et constitutionnelle, I, janv.-mars, 1937, 39-54).

TACKABERRY, Wing Commander. *Canada and the war in the air* (Royal Air Force quarterly, Jan., 1937). It is pointed out that the next war will bring new problems of equipment, and the aircraft industry at present in Canada is by no means adequate to meet war-time demands.

TARR, E. J. *Defense and national unity* (Maclean's magazine, L (13), 19, 36-7). The fourth article of a series on the problem of Canada's defence.

TATUM, EDWARD HOWLAND, jr. *The United States and Europe, 1815-1823: A study in the background of the Monroe doctrine.* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. 1936. Pp. x, 315. (\$3.00) Reviewed June, 1937, 204.

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BAILEY, ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY. *The conflict of European and eastern Algonkian cultures 1504-1700: A study in Canadian civilization.* (Monographic series no. 2.) Saint John: New Brunswick Museum. 1937. Pp. [viii], 206. To be reviewed later.

CLARK, DAN ELBERT. *The west in American history.* New York: Crowel. 1937. Pp. 682. (\$3.50) Part one, entitled "The west under Spain, France, and England", sketching the geographical factors, the Indian, the Spanish, French, and English explorations, colonization, and conflicts, is of interest to the student of Canadian history.

COLVIN, IAN. *The life of Lord Carson.* Vol. III. New York: Macmillan. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. 463. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

LAUVRIÈRE, EMILE. *Une nouvelle France en Nouvelle Angleterre* (Revue d'histoire des colonies, Paris, XXVIII, 1935, 89-106).

SMALLWOOD, J. R. (ed.). *The book of Newfoundland*. 2 vols. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers. New York agent, R. H. Tait, Newfoundland Information Bureau, 620 Fifth Ave. 1937. Pp. 486; 531. (\$10.00) An illustrated encyclopedia of information about the colony.

TREVELYAN, GEORGE MACAULAY. *Grey of Fallodon, being the life of Sir Edward Grey afterwards Viscount Grey of Fallodon*. With illustrations. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green. 1937. Pp. xvi, 393. (\$5.00) This admirable biography will stand alongside the author's earlier biographies of English statesmen. It is mainly concerned with Grey's public career, above all with his years as secretary for foreign affairs before and during the war of 1914-8, but includes enough of his private life to portray his character clearly and sympathetically. Such a portrayal is indeed most necessary, both for the proper understanding of Grey's conduct of foreign affairs, and also to explain such rather unexpected things as his sympathy with labour, or his relatively easy contacts with the United States. The volume shows, with adequate reference to documents old and new, that Grey's foreign policy was based both on ideals and realities, and that it was by no means made for him by officials of the foreign office. It should serve as a useful corrective to criticisms of that policy which (it must be admitted) have been encouraged by Grey's own honesty and even humility. [R. FLENLEY]

WALLACE, W. STEWART (ed.). *The encyclopedia of Canada*. Vol. V: *Newts—Siksika*. Toronto: University Associates of Canada. [Murray Printing Co.] 1937. Pp. [vii], 398. To be reviewed later. Particularly important in this volume are the following articles: "North west company" by W. S. WALLACE; "Nova Scotia" by GEORGE E. WILSON; "Ontario" by F. LONDON; "Presbyterian church" by W. G. WALLACE; "Prime ministers"; "Prince Edward Island" by H. A. AIKEN; "Pulp-and-paper industry" by H. A. INNIS; "Quebec" by G. E. MARQUIS; "Quebec conference" by W. M. WHITELAW; "Queen's University" by E. C. KYTE; "Rebellion of 1837-8"; "Roman Catholic church" by E. C. LEBEL; "St. Lawrence river"; "Saskatchewan" by WALTER C. MURRAY.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

BENNETT, SIR COURTENAY. *Drake's plate of brass* (United empire, XXVIII (7), July, 1937, 383-4). An account of a tablet recently discovered in California.

CORTESAO, ARMANDO. *The mystery of Columbus* (Contemporary review, CLI (855), March, 1937, 322-30). The author attempts to throw light on the origin and early years of Columbus.

FRASER, A. D. *The Norsemen in Canada* (Dalhousie review, XVII (2), July, 1937, 175-86).

PROWSE, G. R. F. *Cartological material*. Vol. I: *Maps*. Winnipeg. 1936. Pp. xv, 399 (mimeo.). This work proposes to trace fifteen primary surveys and successive modifications of the east coast of North America from Baffin land to Maine, beginning with Cabot and continuing on to Cook and Des Barres.

SAVILLE, MARSHALL H. *Champlain and his landings at Cape Ann, 1605, 1606* (American Antiquarian Society proceedings, LXIII, Oct., 1933, 447-69). The author considers briefly the exploration of the north-eastern Atlantic seaboard prior to the exploration of Champlain, as well as the landings of Champlain on the shores of Massachusetts bay.

(3) New France

CHINARD, GILBERT. *Le voyage de Lapérouse sur les côtes de l'Alaska et de la Californie (1786)*. Avec une introduction et des notes. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. lii, 144. (\$3.00) The *Institut Français* is responsible for this excellent edition of original documents containing Lapérouse's own account of his voyage, a *mémoire* written by the ship's doctor, and extracts from Lapérouse's correspondence. The scientific expedition left France in 1785 at the request of Louis XVI and was shipwrecked some time after 1788.

- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *La Salle, 1669-1673* (Mid-America, XIX (3), n.s. VIII, July, 1937, 197-216). An investigation of the claim that La Salle was the discoverer of the upper Mississippi; the author submits the documents on which the claim is based to a critical examination with regard to their authorship and their contents.
- DUGRÉ, ALEXANDRE. *Le Père Marquette de la Compagnie de Jésus*. (L'oeuvre des tracts, no. 216.) Montréal: L'Action paroissiale. 1937. Pp. 16. (10c.) Marquette's third centenary has inspired this brief account of his life and work as a missionary and explorer.
- GOYAU, GEORGES. *Le découvreur du Mississippi, Jacques Marquette* (Revue des deux mondes, XXXIX, May 1, 1937, 144-68). A biographical sketch of the explorer.
- HANOTAUX, GABRIEL. *L'oeuvre du père Marquette et sa portée* (France-Amérique, XXVIII (307), juillet, 1937, 121-3). The author stresses the link which exists between France and America in this tribute to Marquette.
- HÉBERT, MAURICE. *Sur les traces de Cavelier de la Salle et des pairs canadiens: Voyage au golfe du Mexique* (Canada français, XXIV (10), juin, 1937, 1006-30). An account of a journey made to the gulf of Mexico by French and French-Canadian delegations in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of La Salle's death.
- JARAY, GABRIEL-LOUIS. *Portrait d'Iberville* (France-Amérique, XXVIII (306), juin, 1937, 96-8). A brief account of Iberville, 1662-1706, and his exploits in the Thirty Years' War in America.
- KELLOGG, LOUISE P. *Father Jacques Marquette: A tercentenary tribute* (Catholic world, June, 1937).
- LEMAI, HUGOLIN. *L'assassinat de Cavelier de la Salle* (B.R.H., XLIII (5), mai, 1937, 146-8). An account of La Salle's assassination by the only white man to witness the deed, Père Anastase Douay.
- *Les Récollets et Cavelier de la Salle* (B.R.H., XLIII (6), juin, 1937, 189-91). An account of the part played by the Récollet missionaries in the expeditions of La Salle.
- POULIOT, LÉON. *Trois lettres du P. Marquette* (B.R.H., XLIII (5), mai, 1937, 152-8). The first two letters quoted deal with Marquette's vocation as a missionary; the third one was written during his sojourn in Lower Canada.
- ROUSSEAU, JACQUES. *La botanique canadienne à l'époque de Jacques Cartier*. (Contributions du laboratoire botanique de l'Université de Montréal, no. 28.) Montréal: Institut botanique, Université de Montréal. 1937. Pp. 86. The first part of this book contains extracts from the original texts of the early explorers, while the second part is devoted to an annotated list of the plants referred to in their writings.
- SAINT OLIVE, PIERRE. *Les Dauphinois au Canada. Essai de catalogue des Dauphinois qui ont pris part à l'établissement du régime français au Canada, suivi d'une étude sur un Dauphinois canadien: Antoine Pécody de Contrecoeur*. Paris: Maisonneuve. 1936. Pp. 127. This little study is based almost entirely on secondary sources, though these have been checked on local archives in Dauphiné. It is of interest primarily to those concerned with Canadian genealogy. The contribution of this eastern province of France to Canadian development has never been clearly pointed out before. It is notable for its military aspect. Certain new light is thrown on the career of Antoine Pécody de Contrecoeur, one of the early French-Canadian seigneurs. [R. M. S.]
- SAUTAI, MAURICE. *Les soldats de Montcalm et nos habitants* (B.R.H., XLIII (6), juin, 1937, 185). A brief account of the relations which existed between Montcalm's soldiers and the native Canadians and Indians.

- SHERMAN, W. J. *Fort Miami: At the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the Lake* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio quarterly bulletin, IX (3), July, 1937, [1-7]). A history of Fort Miami in north-western Ohio, built by order of Frontenac in 1680.
- TINAYRE, MARCELLE. *Avec la mission Cavalier de la Salle* (Revue des deux mondes, XXXIX, June 1, 1937, 614-31). In the spring of 1937, under the direction of the Comité France-Amérique, a group of Frenchmen traversed the scenes of La Salle's exploits in Louisiana, Texas, and Canada.

(4) British North America before 1867

- The battle of Frenchtown*. Detroit. April, 1937. Pp. 13 (mimeo.). A number of documents written by Canadian participants in the battle (1813) and issued by the Algonquin Club, a small history club whose members are drawn from the Detroit-Windsor district and which is therefore international in its scope.
- CAMPBELL, P. *Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792*. Edited, with an introduction, by H. H. LANGTON and with notes by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG. (Publications of the Champlain Society, XXIII.) Toronto: Champlain Society. 1937. Pp. xxi, 326, xii. To be reviewed later.
- [CHARTIER, ETIENNE.] *Lettre de l'abbé Etienne Chartier à l'honorable Louis-Joseph Papineau* (suite et fin) (B.R.H., XLIII (5), mai, 1937, 129-42). The rebellion of 1837-8 is discussed.
- CREIGHTON, D. G. *The crisis of 1837* (Canadian banker, XLIV (3), April, 1937, 277-82). An account of the economic and political disturbances in Upper and Lower Canada.
- FUHLBRUEGGE, EDWARD A. *New Jersey finances during the American Revolution* (New Jersey Historical Society proceedings, LV (3), July, 1937, 167-90).
- GIBSON, WILLIAM. *Sir John Franklin's last voyage* (Beaver, outfit 268 (1), June, 1937, 44-75). This important article has been issued as a separate booklet; to be reviewed later.
- GLASGOW, MAUDE. *The Scotch-Irish in northern Ireland and in the American colonies*. New York: Putnam's. 1936. Pp. xxi, 345. (\$3.00)
- GUILLET, EDWIN C. *The great migration: The Atlantic crossing by sailing-ship since 1770*. Toronto, London, New York: Thomas Nelson. 1937. Pp. xii, 284. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- HACKER, L. M. *The American Revolution: Economic aspects* (Marxist quarterly, Jan.-March, 1937, pp. 22).
- HARDY, JACK. *The first American Revolution*. New York: International Publishers. 1937. Pp. 160. (\$1.00)
- HEADLAM, CECIL (ed.). *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, America and West Indies, 1724-1725 and 1726-1727, preserved in the Public Record Office*. With an introduction by ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON. 2 vols. London: H.M.S.O., issued by the authority of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury under the direction of the master of the rolls. 1936. Pp. i, 570; xl, 507. (£1 15s.; £1 10s.) To be reviewed later.
- John Jacob Astor correspondence: Fur trade with Lower Canada 1790-1817* (Moorsfield antiquarian, I (1), May, 1937, 7-26). Letters and other documents relating to Astor and the fur trade found among the Pliny Moore papers.
- KRUSE, B. E. *The Canadian exiles, 1837-1937* (Canadian geographical journal, XIV (6), June, 1937, 352-4). A brief account of eight Canadians who took part in the Rebellion of 1837 and were as a result sentenced to exile in Bermuda.

- MARTIN, LAWRENCE and BEMIS, SAMUEL F. *Franklin's red-line map was a Mitchell* (New England quarterly, X (1), March, 1937, 105-11). The author contends that the map used by Benjamin Franklin in 1782 to trace the boundary between Canada and the United States was a Mitchell map.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les Canadiens et la guerre de secession* (B.R.H., XLIII (7), juillet, 1937, 222). A list of French Canadians who took part in the American Civil War.
- METZGER, CHARLES. *An appraisal of Shelburne's western policy* (Mid-America, XIX (3), n.s. VIII, July, 1937, 169-81). An account of Shelburne's western policy, its genesis and development, and a comparison with rival policies; with particular attention to the periods 1763 when he was president of the lords of trade, and 1766 when he was secretary of state for the southern department.
- The ordinance of 1787* (Indiana magazine of history, XXXIII (2), June, 1937, 204-11). The text of the ordinance relative to the western territories is republished herein.
- Outbreak of the Papineau war in Lower Canada 1837* (Moorsfield antiquarian, I (1), May, 1937, 30-3). A letter from Edward S. Goodnow to George V. Edwards, dated Nov., 1837, casts an interesting light upon the earlier stages of the rebellion.
- PEASE, THEODORE CALVIN. *Anglo-French boundary disputes in the west, 1749-1763*. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XXVII, French series, vol. II.) Edited with introduction and notes. Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1936. Pp. clxxi, 607. To be reviewed later.
- PROVENCHER, ROLANDE. *Conséquences de l'insurrection* (Action universitaire, III (7), juin, 1937, 123-4). The author discusses the immediate effects of the Lower Canada rebellion on the constitution of the province of Quebec.
- ROBERTS, KENNETH. *Northwest passage*. Toronto: Doubleday, Doran. 1937. Pp. [vi], 709. (\$2.75) A novel dealing with Rogers' Rangers. To be reviewed later.
- R[OY], P. G. *L'emprisonnement d'Etienne Parent en 1838-1839* (B.R.H., XLIII (7), juillet, 1937, 216-7). An account of the imprisonment of Etienne Parent and Jean-Baptiste Fréchette, owners of the *Canadien*.
- SWIGGETT, HOWARD. *A portrait of Colonel John Butler* (New York history, XVIII (3), July, 1937, 304-11). An analysis of the character of the organizer of Butler's Rangers.
- WALLACE, W. S. *Alexander Fraser of Beauchamp* (B.R.H., XLIII (6), juin, 1937, 176-9). A biographical sketch of Alexander Fraser of Fraser's Highlanders, who remained in Canada after the British conquest.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

- Canadian bar review*, XV (6), June, 1937. Special constitutional number: A symposium. Contains the following articles: "The British North America Act: Past and future" by W. P. M. KENNEDY; "The Canadian constitution seventy years after" by VINCENT C. MACDONALD; "The privy council decisions: A comment from Great Britain" by A. BERRIEDALE KEITH; "Canada and the treaty-making power" by N. A. M. MACKENZIE; "Dominion legislation and treaties" by W. IVOR JENNINGS; "The present status of the Bennett ratifications of international labour conventions" by C. WILFRED JENKS; "The social legislation references" by F. C. CRONKITE; "The consequences of the privy council decisions" by F. R. SCOTT; "An Australian view of the Hours of Labour Case" by JOHN D. HOLMES.
- Canadian Catholic Historical Association. *Report, 1935-1936*. Ottawa: Le Droit. 1937. Pp. 74 (English); 55 (French). The historical papers printed herein are listed separately in this bibliography.

- CHAMPRIS, GAILLARD de. *La politique canadienne* (France-Amérique, XXVIII (306), juin, 1937, 103-7). A discussion of internal and external affairs in Canadian politics in 1937.
- Claim of British ship "I'm alone"*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1935. Pp. v, 297.
- DANDURAND, RAOUL. *La question de l'autonomie complète du Canada: Discours au sénat d'Ottawa sur la réforme de la constitution* (France-Amérique, XXVIII (306), juin, 1937, 116-20). M. Dandurand feels that the right to modify the Canadian constitution should belong to Canada.
- DAVIS, ROBERT H. *Canada cavalcade: The maple leaf dominion from Atlantic to Pacific*. New York, London: Appleton-Century. [Toronto: Ryerson Press.] 1937. Pp. xiv, 411. (\$3.00) A special writer on the staff of the New York *Sun* the author has gathered into a book a series of Canadian articles written for his paper since 1925. The note is one of undisguised admiration for Canada, her people and her scenes, the charm of Quebec, the beauties of the Rockies, the forests, lakes, and streams. Into his pages he introduces with relish half-breeds and Indians, guides and fishermen, hunters and trappers, miners and prospectors, sea-captains and soldiers. There is a wealth of tales and anecdote by this curious and observant wanderer and he seems to enjoy the telling of them. [LOUIS BLAKE DUFF]
- FARRIS, J. W. de B. *The B.N.A. act and the privy council* (Industrial Canada, XXXVIII (2), June, 1937, 37-40). The decisions of the privy council in regard to Mr. Bennett's recent social legislation are discussed.
- Federal public finance: I. Canada* by W. J. WAINES; *II. Australia* by J. A. MAXWELL; *III. South Africa* by J. S. M. ALLELY (C.J.E.P.S., III (2), May, 1937, 181-209).
- FITZMAURICE, G. G. *The case of the I'm Alone (British year book of international law, 1936, Oxford, 82-111)*. A history of the case of a British schooner of Canadian registry which was sunk by a United States coastguard vessel by gun-fire in 1929.
- JONASSON, JONAS A. *The Red river amnesty question* (Pacific historical review, VI (1), March, 1937, 58-66). A discussion of the feeling of antagonism aroused between the French and English as a result of the dominion government's attitude to the Riel rebellion.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The constitution of Canada* (Politica, II (8), June, 1937, 356-63). "The recent judgments of the Judicial Committee in connection with the interpretation of the British North America Act provide an opportunity for considering in a broad and somewhat non-technical manner the past and future of that instrument of government."
Suits by and against the crown (University of Toronto law journal, II (1), Lent term, 1937, 137-8). Discusses the question of reform in relation to the problems connected with the crown as litigant.
- KERR, JOHN ANDREW. *The Indian treaties of 1876* (Dalhousie review, XVII (2), July, 1937, 187-95). Recollections of the proceedings in connection with the signing of treaty no. 16 in which the Indians ceded their landrights in the Saskatchewan territory to Queen Victoria.
- MEIGHEN, ARTHUR. *The Canadian senate* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (3), summer, 1937, 152-63). An account of the history and functions of the senate in Canada.
- RICE, WILLIAM GORHAM, jr. *Can Canada ratify international labor conventions? A problem of the division of power between central-state and member states in a federal union* (Wisconsin law review, Feb., 1937).
- SCOTT, F. R. *The privy council and Mr. Bennett's "new deal" legislation* (C.J.E.P.S., III (2), May, 1937, 234-41). A discussion of the Canadian constitution and the B.N.A. act.

SIMARD, GEORGES. *Principes et faits en histoire: Etat idéal et état canadien* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, VII (3), juillet-septembre, 1937, 261-87). The author compares Saint Augustine's conception of an ideal state with existing conditions in Canada.

Survey of Canadian legislation: Dominion of Canada by D. H. PORTER; *Maritime Provinces* by G. F. CURTIS; *Ontario* by J. J. ROBINETTE; *Quebec* by B. CLAXTON; *Western provinces* by F. C. CRONKITE (University of Toronto law journal, Lent term, 1937, 140-56).

TROTTER, R. G. *Has Canada a national culture?* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (3), summer, 1937, 215-27). The author feels that there is a growing national consciousness in Canada but that sectionalism still exercises a strong influence.

(6) The Great War

The action at Hill 70—Commotion Trench (Forty-niner, Edmonton, no. 25, July, 1937, 8-10). Personal reminiscences.

FAIRFAX, JOHN. *Canadian universities and the last war* (Canadian forum, XVII (198), July, 1937, 127-8).

HASSE, F. R. *A touched-up war diary* (Forty-niner, Edmonton, no. 25, July, 1937, 14-8). A further instalment of a diary by a member of "A" Company and later of "The Signals", describing events of Oct. 29, 1916-Feb. 21, 1917.

IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

MACGILLIVRAY, C. J. *Timothy Hierlihy and his times: The story of the founder of Antigonish, N.S.* (A paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society at the Province House, Halifax, November 12, 1935.) Antigonish, N.S.: Casket Print. Pp. 157, [xv]. This attractive little study, read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society in 1935, tells the story of Timothy Hierlihy, an Irishman who migrated to America in 1753 when still a lad, fought through the Seven Years' War, increased his family and fortune during the following interval of peace, re-joined the king's colours in 1776—much to the disgust of his rebellious neighbours in Connecticut—, and with a company of his own did garrison duty in Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island until 1782, when he and his men were merged with the "Nova Scotia Volunteers". The new corps, known as the "Royal Nova Scotia Volunteers", and commanded by Hierlihy, was disbanded at the peace. Taking advantage of the government's offer of free land to soldiers, Hierlihy and many of his officers and privates settled in eastern Nova Scotia where they established the township of Dorchester, Antigonish. [J. S. MARTELL]

QUINPOOL, JOHN. *First things in Acadia, "The birthplace of a continent"*. (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, parts of Maine, Quebec, Newfoundland). Halifax: First Things Publishers. 1936. Pp. 304. Like the early explorers, the author of this interesting volume suffers from no inhibitions when defining the boundaries of Acadia which, according to his title-page, comprehended "Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, parts of Maine, Quebec, Newfoundland". In the text, he goes even further and is seemingly ready to notice any person or event that has had the remotest connection with Acadia. John Howard Payne, for instance, who composed "Home, sweet home" in Paris and died a lonely bachelor in Tunis, is included because two of his New England grandparents were buried in Nova Scotia. Again, the first mass in the air, celebrated on the ill-fated Hindenburg, is mentioned because the airship at the time happened to be passing over "the Sable Island Zone". This cosmopolitan outlook, while scarcely justified by the title *First things in Acadia*, provides ample scope for an outpouring of the writer's wide and varied knowledge and at the same time does much to carry out his expressed wish "to cater to popular circulation". [J. S. MARTELL]

- RÉMOND, GABRIEL. *Le parler français en Acadie* (Revue de l'Alliance française, Paris, no. 64, fév., 1936, 11-7).
- ROGERS, G. MCL. *The mystery of Oak island* (Royal bank magazine, no. 173, April-May, 1937, 4-9, 27). The story of various attempts, beginning in 1794, to find treasure believed to be buried on an island off the coast of Nova Scotia.
- WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE. *Thomas Pichon "The spy of Beausejour": An account of his career in Europe and America with many original documents, translated by Alice Webster*. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1937. Pp. xviii, 161. To be reviewed later.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH H. *The crisis of Quebec, 1914-18*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 270. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- BÉRUBÉ, LOUIS. *La Gaspésie ethnique* (Canada français, XXIV (10), juin, 1937, 968-79). A brief history of the development of Gaspé, together with a note on the language spoken in that region.
- BRINLEY, GORDON. *Away to Quebec: A gay journey to the province*. Twenty-four drawings by D. PUTNAM BRINLEY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1937. Pp. xii, 286. A jolly and rippling guide to some of the most colourful parts of old Quebec, quite fit to rank with *Away to Gaspé* and *Away to Cape Breton*, those other picturesque members of the Brinley series. Its lively, compelling illustrations and chatty comments on people and things, full of historical whispers and glances, make it an ideal companion for the tourist with an eye to the past. Most helpful will be its supplement of detailed instructions for travellers. [R. M. S.]
- Les Canadiens français chez eux: Almanach de la langue française*. Montréal: Action Canadienne-Française. 1937. Pp. 84. A discussion of racial, geographical, historical, and social aspects of French-Canadian life.
- CANNON, ROBERT. *Edward Cannon, 1739-1814* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1935-6, 11-22). Biographical notes on the founder of the Cannon family in Quebec; Edward Cannon was a master-architect.
- CLARKE, JOHN MASON. *The heart of Gaspé: Sketches in the gulf of St. Lawrence*. With many illustrations. New York: Macmillan. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xiv, 292. (\$2.50) A new edition of a volume first published in 1913 and reviewed in the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, XVIII, 104-6.
- COLEMAN, EMMA L. *A seigneurie of New France* (New England quarterly, X (1), March, 1937, 133-8). The author describes the Boucher seigniorie situated nine miles from Montreal and contrasts the life there with life in New England.
- FINNIE, RICHARD. *Filming rural French Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XIV (4), April, 1937, 183-97). An account of the making of a cinematic interpretation of the province of Quebec and its people.
- Hommage de la région outaouaise à la langue française. Programme souvenir, 21, 22, 23, 24 mai, 1937*. Ottawa: Le Droit. 1937. Pp. 32. A programme of events which took place in Ottawa under the patronage of the Ontario committee of the second congress of the French language in Canada.
- Ici ont passé . . . : Le monument du Coteau du Portage*. Chicoutimi: Publications de la Société historique du Saguenay. 1937. Pp. 40. This small book contains an historical note on the monument recently erected in memory of the missionaries, explorers, and traders whose exploits are associated with the Saguenay region; also brief notes on a number of these men.

- JOON DES LONGRAIS, F. *Survivances françaises en Amérique (Canada et Antilles)*. Paris: Louis-Jean Gap. 1935. Pp. 33. A reprint from *La Réforme sociale*.
- KEITH, J. E. *Is Quebec going fascist?* (Maclean's magazine, L (15), Aug. 1, 1937, 9, 27-8). A review of the first year of nationalist rule in French Canada.
- LESSARD, RICHARD. *Précis de l'histoire politique de la province de Québec, 1867-1936*. Sainte-Ursule: L'Echo de Saint-Justin. 1936. Pp. 22. An account of the various ministries which held power in Quebec from 1867 to 1936.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *A Montréal, le long de l'ancien port* (B.R.H., XLIII (5), mai, 1937, 149-51). A description of life on the Montreal docks before the erection of the elevators.
- *Les fiefs de la Rivière des Prairies* (B.R.H., XLIII (6), juin, 1937, 173-5). The history of two fiefs on the island of Montreal given in 1671 to M. Philippe de Carion du Fresnoy and M. Paul de Maurel respectively.
- *Sainte-Genève de Batiscan*. (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 18.) Les Trois Rivières. Les éditions du "Bien Public". 1936. Pp. 131. M. Massicotte has brought together a valuable collection of notes from the foundation of the community in the 17th century to 1935. There are many items which illustrate matters of more than local interest, e.g., the list prepared in 1892 (pp. 88-92) of those who had emigrated, giving names and destinations.
- MAURAUULT, O. *Les monuments de Montréal* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, XXIII (90), 119-36). An account of the principal monuments of Montreal, with historical notes.
- NICHOLLS, GEORGE V. *Some legal aspects of the doctrine of free speech in Quebec* (McGill news, XVIII (3), summer, 1937, 19-21, 62). A discussion of recent legislation in this province.
- POULIN, GONZALVE. *L'évolution historico-juridique de l'institution paroissiale au Canada français* (Nos cahiers, II (2), juillet, 1937, 203-17). Discusses the part played by the rural parish in the development of French Canada.
- Quebec department of municipal affairs, trade and commerce. *Statistical year book, 1936*. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1937. Pp. xxxiii, 450. To be reviewed later.
- RANGER, PAUL. *L'Abitibi* (Bulletin de la Chambre de commerce du district de Montréal, XXXIX (6), juin, 1937, 3-8, 17-8). An historical and geological sketch of the Abitibi region in north-west Quebec.
- R[OY], P.-G. *Le marchand Adolphus Saroni* (B.R.H., XLIII (7), juillet, 1937, 220-1). A biographical sketch of Adolphus Saroni who lived in Quebec from 1818 to 1829.
- The Three Rivers year book, 1936: An annual survey of industry, finance, trade, purchasing power, municipal and other developments in the city of Three Rivers, province of Quebec*. With special "Economic survey". Three Rivers: St. Maurice Valley Chronicle. Pp. 96. (50c.) An historical, industrial, and biographical survey; contains an interesting article by Vivian Burrill entitled "When power came to the St. Maurice valley".

(3) The Province of Ontario

- BALD, F. CLEVER. *The French seigniorship at Sault Sainte Marie* (Reprint of an article published in the *Evening news*, April 8-April 17, Sault Sainte Marie, Mich., 1937, pp. 32). This story of the seigniorship of 214,000 acres which was granted in 1751 to Captain Louis de Bonne, Sieur de Miselle, and Ensign Louis le Gardeur, Sieur de Repentigny, comprises a history of the district of Sault Ste. Marie under the French, British, and American régimes. The booklet is an abridgement of the author's thesis for his master's degree. Copies of the complete thesis will be deposited in the libraries of Wayne University, Detroit, and of the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

GLOVER, T. R. and CALVIN, D. D. *A corner of empire: The old Ontario strand*. London: Cambridge University Press. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xii, 178. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

London and Middlesex Historical Society. *Transactions*. Part XV. 1937. Pp. 36. Contains: *The cholera beacon, being a treatise on the epidemic cholera as it appeared in Upper Canada in 1832-4*, by ELAM STIMSON; also a biographical sketch of the author by EDWIN SEABORN.

Saturday night, Aug. 7, 1937. Special section on Kitchener and Waterloo—industries, statistics, utilities, finances.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

BAIN, T. L. *The situation in Alberta* (Canadian forum, XVII (198), July, 1937, 119-21). A discussion of the political situation.

EMMET, A. C. *Manitoba* (Revista geográfica americana, Buenos Aires, V, 1936, 289-92).

HERON, RICHARD. *Up between the lakes* (Country guide, LVI (6), June, 1937, 8, 25). A discussion of co-operation and community effort in western Canada and the Scandinavian countries.

IMRIE, JOHN M. *New hope for the west* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (3), summer, 1937, 176-83). The author sketches in the background of the problems facing the west to-day.

ROSS, HUGH R. *Thirty-five years in the limelight: Sir Rodmond P. Roblin and his times*. Foreword by Rt. Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN. Summary by Col. GARNET C. PORTER. Winnipeg: Farmer's Advocate of Winnipeg. 1936. Pp. xii, 205. Mr. Ross holds his subject in high admiration, and his efforts to evaluate the political controversies that marked Roblin's career suffer in consequence. The breaking of the C.P.R. "monopoly", the Manitoba school question, and the public works scandal over which the Manitoba Conservative party went out of office more than twenty years ago, are all included in the span of Roblin's political life as independent Liberal and later as leader of the Conservative party in the province. Mr. Ross's biography seems to have been prepared for publication shortly before Sir Rodmond's death. He has been unable, therefore, to make the study of press comments and private papers which is necessary before Roblin's part in these political issues can be fully understood. [R. G. RIDDELL]

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BENNETT, WILLIAM. *Builders of British Columbia*. With a foreword by MALCOLM BRUCE. Vancouver: Broadway Printers. 1937. Pp. 160. (50c.) This booklet is the expansion of a speech prepared for the 1936 district convention of the Communist party of Canada, and it deals with the history of labour in British Columbia during the last half century. There is a strong anti-capitalist bias throughout.

CUPPAGE, EDITH M. *"Here and there" on Vancouver island, British Columbia*. Lino. decorations by AMY ADAMSON. Victoria, B.C.: J. Parker Buckle Printing Co. N.d. Pp. 28. An illustrated little guide-book.

ELLIOTT, T. C. *The coming of the white women, 1836* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (2), June, 1937, 206-23). Part V of the publication of the journal of Mrs. Narcissa Whitman describing the journey from the foot of the Rocky mountains to Vancouver.

FARSON, NEGLEY. *The way of a transgressor*. London: Victor Gollancz. 1936. Pp. 639. The adventures of the author, told in a vigorous, racy style, take him to an amazing number of countries. Five chapters are devoted to life on an inland lake in British Columbia.

Fort Langley correspondence (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (3), July, 1937, 187-94). This correspondence is to be considered as an appendix to the article entitled "Early days at old Fort Langley" by Dr. Robie L. Reid, which appeared in the April issue of the *Quarterly*.

FORTUNE, A. L. *The overlanders of 1862* (Kamloops sentinel, B.C., November 27-Dec. 24, 1936). The story of the overland journey to Cariboo written by the late A. L. Fortune of Enderby (a member of the party) from his diary. This interesting document is published for the first time by the Kamloops *Sentinel* in serial form.

JOHNSON, F. HENRY. *Fur-trading days at Kamloops* (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (3), July, 1937, 171-85).

Kamloops 1812-1937 (Beaver, outfit 268 (1), June, 1937, 36-8). The growth of the British Columbia city is described on the occasion of its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary.

LAMB, W. KAYE. *The pioneer days of the trans-Pacific service, 1887-1891* (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (3), July, 1937, 143-64).

LEBOURDAIS, LOUIS. *Billy Barker of Barkerville* (British Columbia historical quarterly, I (3), July, 1937, 165-70). Some facts about William Barker (after whom the town of Barkerville in Cariboo is named), who staked his first claim at Williams Creek in 1862.

MAZOUR, ANATOLE G. *Doctor Yegor Scheffer: Dreamer of a Russian empire in the Pacific* (Pacific historical review, VI (1), March, 1937, 15-20). An account of the attempt of the Russian-American company to annex the Hawaiian islands.

MORRIS, GRACE P. (comp.). *Wreck of a Japanese junk, 1834* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (2), June, 1937, 160-3). A list of references, together with the story of the wreck of a Japanese junk on the North-west Coast in 1834.

PHILLIPS, WALTER J. and NIVEN, FREDERICK. *Colour in the Canadian Rockies*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson. 1937. Pp. 125. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

Vancouver Exhibition Association souvenir booklet, 1935-36. Pp. 47. An attractively printed booklet which illustrates the efforts of the Vancouver Exhibition Association to develop industry in the province of British Columbia.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

CAMSELL, CHARLES. *Great Bear lake: An exploration and its sequel* (Canadian geographical journal, XIV (3), March, 1937, 127-51). The early history of the lake, together with an account of the author's exploration in 1900. The sequel deals with the discovery of radium on this site in 1930.

COLEMAN, A. P. *The Torngats of Labrador* (Canadian geographical journal, XIV (5), May, 1937, 283-91). A description of the Torngat mountains.

EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *A mystery in the Arctic* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (3), summer, 1937, 143-51). An account of the case of the Arctic trapper, "Albert Johnson", who was captured and shot in 1931 and whose identity has not yet been discovered.

GRAHAM, R. D. *Rough passage: Being the narrative of a single-handed voyage to Newfoundland, Labrador, and Bermuda in the seven-ton yacht Emanuel and the subsequent return to England with a soldier crew*. With an introduction by CLAUD WORTH. Edinburgh, London: William Blackwood. 1937. Pp. xiii, 236. Two chapters describe navigation off Newfoundland and Labrador.

WATT, J. S. C. *Labrador year* (Beaver, outfit 268 (1), June, 1937, 20-9). The author tells of his early experiences among the company posts along the Labrador coast.

V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

ALLEN, EDWARD W. *The north Pacific fisheries* (Pacific affairs, X (2), June, 1937, 136-51). A discussion of international regulations in connection with Canadian and American fisheries.

ANDERSON, GEORGE. *Enemies of the caribou* (Beaver, outfit 268 (1), June, 1937, 30-2). A discussion of factors which are said to be menacing the continued existence of these animals in northern Canada.

Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad (Railway and Locomotive Historical Society bulletin no. 39, March, 1936, 6-62).

LAMONTAGNE, Y. *Les ressources naturelles du Canada* (Bulletin commercial, Belgique, LVI, 10 mai, 1937, 1261-94).

MACKIMMIE, G. W. *About banks and bank buildings 1837-1937*. Part I: *Before confederation* (Canadian banker, XLIV (3), April, 1937, 257-72). An historical account of the chartered institutions in British North America from 1837 to 1867.

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *The structural basis of Canadian geography* (Canadian geographical journal, XIV (5), May, 1937, 297-303). The purpose of the author is "to sketch, first, Canada's place in the World Plan; and then to show how build has to a considerable degree determined man's method of settlement in the eastern area".

WAYLING, T. *Eskimo calling Mickey Mouse* (Canadian magazine, LXXXVII (2), Feb., 1937, 5, 27). Prosperity in the Arctic depends on the lemming, the chief food of the white fox.

(2) Agriculture

BURTON, F. W. *Wheat in Canadian history* (C.J.E.P.S., III (2), May, 1937, 210-7). A chronological treatment of Canada's wheat problem from the French period to the present day.

INNIS, H. A. (ed.). *The dairy industry in Canada*, by J. A. RUDDICK, W. M. DRUMMOND, R. E. ENGLISH, and J. E. LATTIMER. (The relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, division of economics and history.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 299. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.

LONDON, F. *The 1860's—A period of transition in Upper Canada agriculture* (O.A.C. review, XLIX (7), April-May, 1937, 416-8, 451-8). Delivered as the "Bits o' bronze" agricultural history lecture at the Ontario Agricultural College on Feb. 17, 1937; discusses the change from primitive methods to a more scientific approach. Also issued as a separate pamphlet.

PATTON, H. S. *Observations on Canadian wheat policy since the World War* (C.J.E.P.S., III (2), May, 1937, 218-33).

SHORT, C. M. *The fundamental wheat problem* (Canadian banker, XLIV (3), April, 1937, 277-82). A discussion of the international wheat situation from the Great War to the present time.

SIEGFRIED, A. *Paysans canadiens: The relation of French Canadian farmers to agricultural development in Canada* (Revue de Paris, 15 janv., 1937, 354-79).

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population

GALLAGHER, JOHN A. *The Irish emigration of 1847 and its Canadian consequences* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1935-6, 43-57). Traces the emigration from Ireland to the Great Lakes and shows its consequences in Canada—death, disease, paralysis of trade, and financial stress. A bibliography is appended.

LANCOUR, A. HAROLD A. (comp.). *Passenger lists of ships coming to North America, 1607-1825*. New York: New York Public Library. 1937. Pp. 24. (25c.) In recent years efforts have been made to collect and print from original records, diaries, log books, etc., lists of the early emigrants to North America. This bibliography lists these printed sources in convenient form. It is arranged, first by the state to which the ship came, and second, under each state, chronologically by the year of arrival. There is also a complete index to ships' names.

LANCÔT, J.-B. *Considérations économiques sur la colonisation* (Actualité économique, I (2), mai, 1937, 147-58). A discussion of the need of colonizing the rural areas of Canada with a view to further agricultural development.

(4) Mining

DE WET, J. P. *Manitoba's first gold mill* (Canadian mining journal, LVIII (4), April, 1937, 183-4). A brief account of E. A. Pelletier, an early prospector, and the mill which he erected on Rice lake in 1912.

MACGREGOR, A. *A pioneer prospector* (Canadian mining journal, LVIII (1), Jan., 1937, 18-22). An account of J. Russell Cryderman, and the mines in northern Ontario with which he has been associated from 1890 to the present time.

ROWE, R. C. *The discovery of Silver islet*, Part II (Canadian mining journal, LVII (6), June, 1936, 266-71). Extracts from the diary of Thomas MacFarlane who discovered Silver islet silver mine in 1868.

TAYLOR, R. *After twenty-five years* (Canadian mining journal, LVII (7), July, 1936, 320-4). A brief account of pioneer days in the Porcupine mining district.

VI. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

CAMERON, MAXWELL A. *The distribution of the burden of supporting education* (School, XXV (6), Feb., 1937, 475-9).

COATS, R. H. *Dalhousie and progress* (Dalhousie review, XVII (2), July, 1937, 155-62). An address to the convocation of Dalhousie University on receiving the degree of doctor of laws, May 11, 1937.

HARVEY, D. C. *The Dalhousie idea* (Dalhousie review, XVII (2), July, 1937, 131-43). A history of the early days of Dalhousie College and of its association with the struggle of democracy against monopoly and privilege in church and state.

HÉBERT, JOSEPH. *L'Université d'Ottawa: Ses réalisations et ses espérances*. (Extrait de la Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa, juillet-sept., 1937.) Pp. 29. In his speech delivered at the commencement exercises of the University of Ottawa, M. Hébert reviews the achievements of the university.

MACBETH, F. W. *Aid to industry: The textile industry's responsibility in education* (Canadian textile journal, LIV (13), June 25, 1937, 23-4, 46, 52-3, 55). An outline of the history of occupational and vocational education in Ontario.

WILLSON, ALICE M. *French in Ontario schools since the nineties* (School, XXV (5), Jan., 1937, 404-8).

VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BROWN, WILLIAM ADAMS. *Church and state in contemporary America. A study of the problems they present and the principles which should determine their relationship*. New York: Scribner's. 1936. Pp. xviii, 360. (\$2.75) This study was carried out in association with a committee appointed by the federal council of the churches of Christ in America. It arose out of the new situation which confronts the church in the world to-day, with a serious challenge to the presuppositions of Christendom

coming from communism on one side and from modern post-war nationalism, especially in the fascist form of the totalitarian state, on the other. The book gives an historical survey of the development of the relations of church and state in the past, an analysis of the contemporary situation and especially of the theories and actions of the main organized religious bodies in the United States, and a concluding section on the principles which should guide the Protestant churches in the immediate future. Mr. C. E. Silcox has supplied a very useful short appendix on the history of the relations of church and state in Canada. [F. H. U.]

CAMPBELL, NORMAN (comp.). *A history of Wesley United Church, Pembroke, Ontario, 1835-1935*. Pembroke: Standard-Observer Print. N.d. Pp. 66.

CASHEN, T. F. *Brother André as he was: A short story of a saintly soul*. Montreal: St. Joseph's Shrine. Thérien Frères. 1937. Pp. 31. Also in French. A tribute to Brother André and the work of the well-known shrine on Mount Royal, Montreal.

CHARLAND, THOMAS-M. *L'oeuvre historique de l'abbé Louis-Edouard Bois* (La Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique, Rapport 1935-6, 13-24). The contribution which the Abbé Bois (1813-1886 (?)) made to the history of the Catholic church in Quebec is stressed in this account of his life.

DROUIN, JOSEPH. *Le Frère André, sa généalogie, ses plus frappants miracles*. Montréal: Le Devoir. 1937. Pp. 31. (25c.) An account of some of the more famous Canadian ancestors of Father André, together with brief notes on a number of his miracles.

EATON, JESSIE M. *Barrie presbyterial, 1887-1937*. Orillia, Ont. N.p. [1937]. Pp. 7. A record of its history and its work.

Franciscan educational conference. *Franciscan history of North America: Report of the eighteenth annual meeting Santa Barbara, California, August 2-4, 1936*. Brookland, Washington: Franciscan educational conference, Capuchin College. 1937. Pp. lii, 385. To be reviewed later.

HARRIS, REGINALD V. *Charles Inglis: Missionary, loyalist, bishop (1734-1816)*. Toronto: General Board of Religious Education. 1937. Pp. 186. (\$1.25) To be reviewed later.

JOHNSTON, A. A. *The Right Reverend William Fraser, second vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia, first bishop of Halifax, and first bishop of Arichat* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1935-6, 23-30). Biographical notes which throw light on the history of the Catholic church in Nova Scotia in the first half of the nineteenth century.

LANCTÔT, GUSTAVE. *Un Sulpicien récalcitrant: L'abbé Huet de La Valinière* (La Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique, Rapport 1935-6, 25-39). In his biographical account of the Abbé La Valinière, 1732-1806, the author emphasizes the part which the abbé played in the American invasion of Canada in 1775.

LEMAY, HUGOLIN. *Le père Louis Hennepin, récollet: Une obédience pour l'Amérique en 1696, et départ pour la Hollande* (Nos cahiers, II (2), juillet, 1937, 149-79). Discusses Père Hennepin's reasons for leaving Belgium in 1696.

MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. "Nos messieurs". (Collection du Zodiaque '35.) Montréal: Les éditions du Zodiaque. 1936. Pp. 325. (\$1.00) A popular history of the *Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice* which was established in Montreal in 1657 by four members of the original French order.

MEMORIAN, Rev. Brother. *Vital Justin Grandin, O.M.I., first bishop of St. Albert, Alberta, 1829-1902* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1935-6, 58-67).

POULIOT, LÉON. *La mission Saint-Joseph de Sillery*. (L'oeuvre des tracts, no. 218.) Montréal: L'Action paroissiale. 1937. Pp. 16. (10c.) The author tells the history of the Jesuit mission which flourished in Quebec from 1637 to 1670.

- POULIOT, LÉON. *La mort de Mgr Labelle* (B.R.H., XLIII (7), juillet, 1937, 193-4). The author quotes a description of the death of Mgr Labelle found amongst the papers of Père Marcel Martineau in the Archives of the *Immaculée-Conception* in Montreal.
- QUINSONAS, Comte de. *Un dauphinois, cinquième évêque de la Nouvelle-France, Monseigneur de Laubérièvre (1711-1740)*, par un de ses arrière-petits-neveux. Avec une lettre-préface de S. E. le Cardinal BAUDRILLART. Paris: Maisonneuve. 1936. Pp. xviii, 205. (\$1.70) This biography of a man who lived but a few days on Canadian soil is of slight value to the historian of Canada. Its worth lies chiefly in its description of the choice of a bishop for New France, and of the preparations the new bishop made for his Canadian post. [R.M.S.]
- ROBITAILLE, GEORGES. *Histoire du sentiment religieux au Canada: Marie de l'Incarnation d'après sa correspondance* (La Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique, Rapport 1935-6, 40-55). Extracts from the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation.
- R[oy], P. G. *Dans les cloîtres de Québec en 1785* (B.R.H., XLIII (7), juillet, 1937, 214-5). Impressions of the three convents of Quebec in 1785 as found in the diary of Joseph Hadfield, an English traveller.
- RUMILLY, ROBERT. *Marguerite Bourgeoys*. Paris: Spes. 1936. Pp. 245. (12 frs.) Pioneer days in Montreal are described in this popular account of the life and work of Marguerite Bourgeoys (1620-1700), sister in the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* and founder of the first school in that city.
- SAUVÉ, GUSTAVE. *Ce que l'église a fait: La religion n'est pas l'opium du peuple*. Ottawa: L'Université d'Ottawa. Pp. 28. The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to some of the pressing social problems of to-day is discussed in this pamphlet addressed primarily to the working class.
- STOTT, WILLIAM. *The Presbyterian church in the north and central Okanagan* (Okanagan Historical Society sixth report, 1935, 28-7).
The story of St. Andrew's United Church, North Vancouver, 1865-1937. [Vancouver]: North Shore Press. [1937]. Pp. 34. "The story of St. Andrew's United Church, North Vancouver, is a story in two chapters. The first is concerned with the pioneer lumber town of Moodyville which was located near to where the Midland Pacific Terminal elevator now stands, within the present boundaries of the City of North Vancouver. The second is concerned with the beginnings of the Church in North Vancouver proper. The former takes us back to the beginnings of British Columbia, the latter belongs to the present century." This opening paragraph will indicate the scope of the story. It is well done, combining detail with readability. Several of the photographs reproduced are of considerable historic value. [J. G.]
- TALMAN, JAMES J. *Le Révérend John Ogilvie* (B.R.H., XLII (11), nov., 1936, 682-3). Extracts from the letters and journals of John Ogilvie, first Protestant clergyman in Montreal, are quoted to prove that most of his time during the years 1761-3 was spent in Montreal.
- THOMAS, HARTLEY M. *A new relic of the Jesuit mission of 1640-41 in western Ontario* (R.S.C. transactions, ser. 3, XXX, sect. 2, May, 1936, 185-92). An account of an oval clay nodule, bearing an inscription and the date 1640, which was found in 1928 in the south-western corner of Middlesex county, about forty miles from London.
- WALLACE, EDWARD WILSON. *Methodist cavalry* (New outlook, n.s. XII (39), Sept. 23, 1936, 874, 888-9). A picture of early Methodist preachers in Canada.

VIII. GENEALOGY

- BRAULT, LUCIEN. *La famille Dagneau d'Ouille (Douville)* (B.R.H., XLIII (7), juillet, 1937, 216-7). The author traces the genealogy of the Norman family of Dagneau from 1259 to 1774. A member of the family settled in Canada in the seventeenth century.

- BYERLY, A. E. *The McCraes of Guelph*. Elora: Elora Express. 1932. Pp. 14. A genealogical study of the McCrae family who settled in Guelph in 1849.
- CARON, IVANHOË. *Robert Caron et sa famille: Origine* (B.R.H., XLIII (6), juin, 1937, 161-72; (7) juillet, 1937, 200-12). A genealogical account of the Caron family of the province of Quebec from 1640-1844.

X. ART AND LITERATURE

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Romancero du Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1937. Pp. 254. (\$2.75) This well-chosen selection of old French-Canadian songs, selected from the great collection in the National Museum at Ottawa, is presented by M. Barbeau with a store of valuable historical and critical comments. This is a distinct contribution to the history of Canadian folk-lore and music, and will be of interest further to those concerned with the development of French folk-music, especially that of the western province of France. [R. M. S.]
- BROOKER, BERTRAM (ed.). *Yearbook of the arts in Canada, 1936*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1936. Pp. xxviii, 256. (\$5.00) This is the second edition of the *Yearbook*, the first having been published in 1929. It contains an introduction, "Art and society", by the editor; reproductions of ninety-eight paintings, etc.; and reprints of a selection of the best poems, short stories, and critical essays recently published by Canadians. Of special interest are the following articles: "The Canadian novel turns the corner" by W. A. DEACON, reprinted from the *Canadian magazine*; "Thoughts on Canadian art" by G. CAMPBELL MCINNES, reprinted from *Saturday night*; "Problems of music in Canada", an address to the Canadian Authors' Association by Sir ERNEST MACMILLAN; and "Recent architecture in Canada" by PERCY E. NOBBS, reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*.
- BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *James Wilson Morrice: A biography*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 187. (\$4.00) A life of the well-known Canadian artist.
- CHARTIER, ÉMILE. *La vie de l'esprit au Canada français*. 5e étude: *La poésie—L'Ecole patriotique de Québec (1855-1890)* (S.R.C. mémoires, série 3, XXX, sect. 1, mai, 1936, 97-113).
- CRONIN, P. F. *Early Catholic journalism in Canada* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1935-6, 31-42).
- ELSON, JOHN M. *Canadian historical fiction* (School, Ontario College of Education, XXIV (10), June, 1936, 851-4). This article represents a thorough revision of one contributed to the *School* by Mr. Elson in 1932. The material is rearranged in a regional way and brought down to date.
- GAUVREAU, JOSEPH. *Olivar Asselin: Précurseur d'Action française; le plus grand de nos journalistes, 1875-1937*. Montréal: 76, Boulevard St-Joseph ouest. 1937. Pp. 47. A brief biographical sketch of Olivar Asselin, together with excerpts from his writings.
- The Haliburton family* (Journal of education for Nova Scotia, ser. 4, VIII (1), Jan., 1937, 68-9). A note on Thomas Chandler Haliburton and on the careers of his two sons.
- HARVEY, D. C. *The centenary of Sam Slick* (Dalhousie review, XVI (4), Jan., 1937, 429-40). A critical analysis of the writing, ideas, and reputation of Thomas Chandler Haliburton.
- HÉBERT, MAURICE. *L'oeuvre poétique de Pamphile Le May* (Canada français, XXIV (5), janv., 1937, 487-507). An estimate of the poetical work of the French-Canadian poet and novelist, Léon Pamphile Lemay (1837-1918).
- LACASSE, ARTHUR. *L'Abbé Apollinaire Gingras et son oeuvre* (S.R.C. mémoires, série 3, XXX, sect. 1, mai, 1936, 127-31). An appreciation of the poetry of the late Abbé Gingras.

- LANCTÔT, GUSTAVE. *Faux et faussaires en histoire canadienne* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1936, 90-9). An account of some interesting forgeries in Canadian history, including *Lettres de Monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm*, London, 1777; Félix Poutré, *Echappé de la potence*, *Souvenirs d'un prisonnier d'état canadien*, 1862.
- MCDONALD, GLADYS CHRISTENA. *Early scenes from western Canada* (Canadian geographical jour., XIII (3), July, 1936, 115-25). A brief account of Edward Roper, an English artist who travelled from Quebec to Victoria in the year following the completion of the C.P.R.; with reproductions of a number of his paintings, now in the Public Archives of Canada.
- MAGNAN, HORMISDAS. *Charles Huot, artiste-peintre, officier de l'instruction publique: Sa vie, sa carrière, ses oeuvres, sa mort*. Québec: 1932. Pp. xiii, 42. A critical biography of a French-Canadian artist (1855-1930), with a number of illustrations of his work.
- MARTELL, J. S. *The creator of Sam Slick* (Journal of Education for Nova Scotia, ser. 4, VIII (1), Jan., 1937, 63-7). A radio address on Thomas Chandler Haliburton.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les artistes Labelle* (B.R.H., XLIII (6), juin, 1937, 183-4). Brief notes on a number of the Labelle family who lived in Montreal between 1820 and 1900.
- MORICE, A.-G. *Dans le champ des lettres canadiennes*. Winnipeg: Chez l'auteur, 200 rue Austin. 1936. Pp. 110. To be reviewed later.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *La collection Desjardins au musée de l'Université Laval*, II (Canada français, XXIV (2), oct., 1936, 107-18).
- PHILLIPS, W. J. *Art in the archives* (Beaver, outfit 267 (4), March, 1937, 10-5, 61). An account of some pictorial records of early Canadian life.
- PIERCE, LORNE. *Literature, English-Canadian* (Encyclopedia of Canada ed. W. S. WALLACE, IV, Toronto, 1936, 89-106). A very useful historical and descriptive summary.
- ROY, CAMILLE. *Literature, French-Canadian* (Encyclopedia of Canada ed. W. S. WALLACE, IV, Toronto, 1936, 106-20). A survey of the principal writers in French-Canadian literature and of their chief works.
- R[OY], P.-G. *Le journaliste Ronald MacDonald [1797-1854]* (B.R.H., XLII (7), juillet, 1936, 443-8).
- SMITH, LEO. *Music* (Encyclopedia of Canada ed. W. S. WALLACE, IV, Toronto, 1936, 363-72). A survey of the art of composition and of performance in Canada.
- Un vaudeville de l'Honorable F.-G. Marchand* (B.R.H., XLII (8), août, 1936, 488-9). Notes on a light comedy by a parliamentary minister of Quebec, presented in 1872 at Quebec.
- WOODHOUSE, A. S. P. (ed.). *Letters in Canada, 1936* (reprinted from the University of Toronto quarterly, VI (3 and 4), April and July, 1937, 338-460; 558-87). The object and scope of the second survey of letters in Canada are identical with those of the first (see C.H.R., XVII, Sept., 372). Certain additions and improvements have been made: a selected list of Canadian journals in progress has been added; the English-Canadian and the French-Canadian materials have been separated, and Professor FELIX WALTER deals with French-Canadian letters as a whole; a separate essay by Professor A. BRADY has been added on important studies of the Canadian polity and economy. The critical essays on poetry, fiction, drama, and remaining material are by Professor E. K. BROWN, Messrs. J. R. MACGILLIVRAY and W. S. MILNE, and Professor A. S. P. WOODHOUSE, respectively.

